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Eleven papers describe and evaluate state and city programs which appear to have been successful in helping the educationally disadvantaged realize their potential. To pinpoint possible factors which hinder achievement, the papers also identify some of the characteristics of these students and their homes and communities. (NH)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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a report of a conference on teaching children and youth who are educationally disadvantaged

May 21–23, 1962 • Washington, D.C.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education

HIGHLIGHTS

The culturally deprived pupil can learn as other pupils do, although possibly at a slower rate and with materials related to his experiences. It is a serious mistake to think of him as uneducable.

* * *

Job upgrading programs can be used to prepare pupils for specific behavior expected of them in beginning jobs.

* * *

The vocational education program can be expanded to provide training in trades not included in the present vocational program.

* * *

Special efforts can be successful in bringing some culturally deprived pupils up to the national norms in school subjects, especially reading and arithmetic.

* * *

Teacher and pupil morale are important factors in the success of a program.

* * *

Guidance and counseling services can be expanded to give more attention to each pupil.

* * *

School social workers with special insight into the home problems of culturally deprived children can help teachers, pupils, and parents with problems involving home-school relationships.

* * *

It is possible to involve the parents of culturally deprived children in parent-teacher group conferences if meetings are held at times and places convenient for parents.

* * *

A program for improving human relations in the community which the school serves can help improve the general atmosphere of the school.

* * *

The programs which have succeeded have been organized and conducted by teachers and school administrators who have demonstrated a large measure of zeal and dedication to the future welfare of their pupils.

Foreword

EDUCATORS IN MANY AREAS throughout the country have been faced with special problems in teaching educationally disadvantaged children, those children handicapped by culturally deprived home and community background experiences. Most of these children live in economically depressed neighborhoods.

Under the auspices of the Instructional Programs Branch of the U.S. Office of Education, a 3-day conference was held May 21–23, 1962, on "Teaching Children and Youth Who Are Educationally Disadvantaged." The conference brought together from all over the Nation acknowledged leaders of public school programs expressly designed to realize the potentialities of the educationally disadvantaged. The purposes of the conference were to review promising efforts in this field, to identify those characteristics of pupils and of their homes and communities which hinder achievement, and to project new approaches that warrant exploration.

This publication contains the papers presented at the conference on practices designed specifically to assist the "educationally disadvantaged." Only through such efforts by many others in the years ahead can effective learning be stimulated among children and youth from homes lacking cultural and economic advantages.

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Introduction

DURING MOST of the present century educators have been aware of a positive correlation between the economic status of American citizens and the school achievement of their children. Efforts primarily aimed at improving the school achievement of children from low-income families have included emphasis on the education of all American youth, on procedures for instructing slow learners, devices for motivating nonacademically inclined pupils, campaigns encouraging youth to stay in school, and the preparation of curriculum materials for children who learn more readily from real-life experiences than from books.

In recent years researchers have emphasized the importance of social class upon learning in school; and in his *Slums and Suburbs* (1961), Dr. James Bryant Conant attacked the specific problem of Negro education in city slums. Concern for the "social dynamite" represented by out-of-school and out-of-work youths in our large cities has stimulated renewed efforts to aid these youths. The educationally disadvantaged are not all in large cities, however; they are in every village and community that has a "wrong side of the tracks."

Pinpointing the problem of the educationally disadvantaged improves the comprehension and understanding of the general public. However, it often complicates dealings with those who are to be educated. It is well known that minority groups do not wish to be labeled, and for the most part all underprivileged groups share this aversion. They wish to be like other people, a part of the mainstream. This has been one reason for the widespread popularity of a euphemistic slogan like "Education for All American Youth."

The following papers, identifying and discussing common elements and specific problems in teaching the educationally disadvantaged, were presented at the conference. The first paper gives an overview of the problem; succeeding papers discuss successful programs at the State, city, and school levels.

The Culturally Deprived Child: A New View

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I HAVE BEEN INTERESTED in the problems of lower socioeconomic groups for about 15 years, during most of which time there has been a lack of concern for the educational problems of children from low-income families. In the last 3 or 4 years, however, this attitude has changed markedly. There is now an enormous interest on the part of practitioners and academic people in this problem. I think we are on the point of a major breakthrough in terms of dealing with this question.

After appraising a good deal of the recent work that has been done on the education of disadvantaged children, I feel that there is considerable agreement regarding many of the recommendations for dealing with the problem (although there are some very different emphases). What is missing, however, is a theoretic rationale to give meaning and direction to the action suggestions. I should like to attempt to provide the beginnings of such a rationale.

I think that a basic theoretic approach here has to be based on the culture of lower socioeconomic groups and, more particularly, on the elements of strength, the "positives," in this culture. The terms "deprived," "handicapped," "underprivileged," and "disadvantaged," unfortunately emphasize environmental limitations and ignore the positive efforts of low-income individuals to cope with their environment.

Most approaches concerned with educating the disadvantaged child either overlook the positives entirely or merely mention in passing that there are positive features in the culture of low socioeconomic groups from which middle-class groups might learn. But they do not spell out what these strengths are, and they build educational programs almost exclusively around the weaknesses or deficits.

I want to call attention to certain positive features in the culture and the psychology of low-income individuals. In particular I should like to look at the cognitive style, that is, the mental style or way of thinking. One major dimension of this style is slowness.

Slow v. Dull

Most disadvantaged children are relatively slow in performing intellectual tasks. This slowness is an important feature of their mental style, and it needs to be carefully evaluated. In considering the question of the slowness of the deprived child, we would do well to recognize that in our culture there has probably been far too much emphasis on speed. We reward speed. We think of the fast child as the smart child and the slow child as the dull child. I think this is basically a false idea. I think there are many weaknesses in speed and many strengths in slowness.

The teacher can be motivated to develop techniques for rewarding slow pupils if she has an appreciation of some of the positive attributes of a slow style of learning. The teacher should know that pupils may be slow for reasons other than because they are stupid.

A pupil may be slow because he is extremely careful, meticulous, or cautious. He may be slow because he refuses to generalize easily. He may be slow because he cannot understand a concept unless he does something physically, for example, with his hands, in connection with the idea he is trying to grasp. The disadvantaged child is typically a physical learner, and the physical learner is generally a slower learner. (Incidentally, the physical style of learning is another important characteristic of the deprived individual, and it too, has many positive features hitherto overlooked.)

A child may be slow because he learns in what I have called a "one-track" way; that is, he persists in one line of thought and is not flexible or broad. He does not easily adopt other frames of reference, such as the teacher's, and consequently he may appear slow and dull. Very often this single-minded individual has considerable creative potential, much of which goes unrealized because of lack of reinforcement in the educational system.

Analysis of the many reasons for slowness leads to the conclusion that slowness should not be equated with stupidity. In fact, there is no reason to assume that there are not a great many slow gifted children. The school in general does not pay too much attention to the slow gifted child, but rather is alert to discover fast gifted children. Excellence comes in many packages, and we must begin to search for it among the slow learners as well as among the faster individuals.

My own understanding of some of the merits of the slow style came through teaching at Bard College, where there is an enrollment of about 350 students. There I had the opportunity of getting to know about 40 students quite well over a period of 4 years. I could really see what happened to them during this time. Very often the students I thought were slow and dull in their freshman year achieved a great deal by the time they became seniors. These were not the overall bright people who are typically selected by colleges. But in some areas, in a one-track way, these students did some marvelous creative work. It was too outstanding to be ignored. I discovered in talking with these students that most of them had spent 5 or 6 years in order to complete college. They had failed courses and made them up in summer school. Some had dropped out of college for a period of time and taken courses in night school.

Such students are slow learners, often one-track learners, but very persistent about something when they develop an interest in it. They have a fear of being overpowered by teachers in situations where they do not accept the teacher's point of view, but they stick to their own particular way of seeing the problem. They do not have a fast pace; they do not catch on quickly and they very often fail subjects. At the present time, when there is a measure of public excitement for reducing the traditional 4-year college to 3 years, I would submit that many potentially excellent students need a 5- or 6-year span to complete a college education.

The assumption that the slow pupil is not bright functions, I think, as a self-fulfilling prophecy. If the teachers act toward these pupils as if they were dull, the pupils frequently come to function in this way. Of course, there are some pupils who are very well-developed at an early age who cannot be blocked by low expectations; but in the average development of the young person, even at the college level, there is need for reinforcement. The teacher must pick up what he says, appeal to him, and pitch examples to him. Typically this does not occur with the slow child. I find in examining my own classroom teaching that I easily fall into the habit of rewarding pupils whose faces light up when I talk, who are quick to respond to me. I find myself responding back to these pupils. The things they say in class become absorbed into the repertoire of what I say. I remember what they say and I use it in providing examples. I do not pick up and select the slower pupil, and I do not respond to him. He has to make it on his own. In the teacher training programs, future teachers should be taught to guard against the almost unconscious and automatic tendency of the teacher to respond only to the pupil who responds to him.

Hidden Verbal Ability

A great deal has been said about the language, or verbal, deficit supposedly characteristic of disadvantaged children. Everybody in the school system, at one time or another, has heard that these children are inarticulate, and nonverbal. But isn't this too simple a generalization? Aren't these children quite verbal—in out-of-school situations, for example?

That the educationally deprived child can be quite articulate in conversation with his peers is well illustrated by the language developed by urban Negro groups, some of which is absorbed into the main culture via the beatnik and the musician, if you "dig" what I mean.

Many questions about the verbal potential of disadvantaged children must be answered by research. Under what conditions are they verbal? What kind of stimuli do they respond to verbally? With whom are they verbal? With whom are they not verbal? What do they talk about? What parts of speech do they use? Martin Deutsch of New York Medical College is doing some very significant research trying to specify these factors, and I surveyed some of his findings in my book, *The Culturally Deprived Child* (1962). I think Deutsch is getting at some very interesting things. One technique he uses is to light up a clown when the children say something. "Inarticulate" children can be very verbal and expressive in this situation.

Disadvantaged children are often surprisingly articulate in role-playing situations. One day when I was with a group of these youngsters (sometimes mistaken for a "gang"), I asked them, "Why are you sore at the teachers?" Even though I was on good terms with them, I couldn't get much of a response. Most of them answered in highly abbreviated sentences. However, after I held a role-playing session in which some of the youngsters acted out the part of the teacher while others acted out the parts of the pupils, these "inarticulate" youngsters changed sharply. Within a half hour they were bubbling over with very verbal and very sensitive answers to the question I had asked earlier. They were telling me about the expressions on teachers' faces that they didn't like. They reported that they knew the minute they entered the room that the teacher didn't like them and that she didn't think that they were going to do well in school. Their analyses were specific and remarkably verbal.

However, the quality of language employed has its limitations, and I think herein lies the deficit. As Basil Berstein indicates, the difference is between formal language and public language, between the language of a written book and the informal everyday language. There is no question in my mind that there is a deficit in formal language. Since this deficit is clear, the question might be asked, Why make such an issue of the positive verbal ability of these children? The reason is that it is easy to believe, and too many people have come to believe, that this deficit in formal language means that deprived people are characteristically nonverbal.

On the other hand, if the school had the idea that these pupils are basically very good verbally, teachers approach them in a different manner. Teachers look for additional techniques to bring out the verbal facility. They abandon the prediction that deprived children will not go very far in the education system and predict instead that they can go very far indeed because they have very good ability at the verbal level. In other words an awareness of the positive verbal ability (not merely potential) would lead to demanding more of the disadvantaged child and expecting more of him.

Education v. the School

There is a great deal of evidence that deprived children and their parents have a much more positive attitude toward education than is generally believed. One factor that obscures the recognition of this attitude is that while deprived individuals value education, they dislike the school. They are alienated from the school and they resent the teachers. For the sake of clarity their attitudes toward education and toward the school must be considered separately.

In a survey conducted a few years ago people were asked, "What did you miss most in life that you would like your children to have?" Over 70 percent of the lower socioeconomic groups answered, "education." The answer was supplied by the respondents, not checked on a list. They could have answered "money," "happiness," "health," or a number of other things. I think this is quite significant. (Middle-class people answer "education" less frequently because they tend to have had an education.) A nationwide poll conducted by Elmo Roper after World War II asked, "If you had a son or daughter graduating from high school would you prefer to have him or her go on to college? Do something else? Wouldn't care?" The affirmative response to the college choice was given by 68 percent of the "poor" and 91 percent of the more prosperous. The difference is significant, but 68 percent of the poorer people is a large absolute figure, a figure that indicates that a large number of these people are interested in a college education for their children.

Why then do these people who have a positive attitude toward education hold a negative attitude toward the school? These youngsters and their parents recognize that they are second-class citizens in the school, and they are angry about it. From the classroom to the PTA, they discover that the school does not like them, does not respond to them, does not appreciate their culture, and does not think they can learn.

Also these children and their parents want education for different reasons than the ones presented by the school. They do not easily accept the ideas of expressing oneself, developing oneself, or gaining knowledge for its own sake. They want education much more for vocational ends. But underneath there is a very positive attitude toward education, and I think this is particularly prominent in the lower socioeconomic Negro groups. In the Higher Horizons program in New York City the parents have participated eagerly, once they have seen that the school system is concerned about their children. One of the tremendously positive features about this program and the Great Cities Programs is the concern for disadvantaged children and the interest in them. This the deprived have not experienced before, and even if the programs did nothing else, I believe that the parents and the children would be responsive and would become involved in the school because of this demonstrated concern for them.

Some Weaknesses

A basic weakness of deprived youngsters which the school can deal with is the problem of "know-how." Included here is the academic "know-how" of the school culture as well as the "know-how" of the middle class generally— knowing how to get a job, how to appear for an interview, how to fill out a form, how to take tests, how to answer questions, and how to listen. The last is of particular importance. The whole style of learning of the deprived is not set to respond to oral or written stimuli. These children respond much more readily to visual and kinesthetic signals. We should remodel the school to suit the styles and meet the needs of these children. But no matter how much we change the school to suit their needs, we nevertheless have to change these children in certain ways—in reading, formal language, test taking, and general "know-how."

These weaknesses represent deficiencies in skills and techniques. However, there is one basic limitation at the value level, namely the anti-intellectual attitudes of deprived groups. It is the only value of lower socioeconomic groups which I would fight in the school. I want to make it very clear that I am very much opposed to the school's spending a lot of time teaching values to these youngsters. I am much more concerned with the schools, and in this I am traditional, as a means of imparting skills, techniques, and knowledge rather than of training the disadvantaged to become good middle-class children. However, I think there is one outlook indigeneous to the school which at some point has to be transmitted to these youngsters, and that is the attitude represented by the school toward intellectuals, toward knowledge for its own sake, and similar issues.

These children and their parents are pretty much anti-intellectual at all levels. They don't like "eggheads." They think talk is a "lot of bull." I would consciously oppose this attitude in the school. I would make the issue explicit; there would be nothing subtle or covert about it. I would at some point state clearly that on this question the school does not agree with them, and is prepared to argue about the views they hold.

Summary and Implications

I have attempted to reinterpret some of the supposedly negative aspects, for example, slowness, that characterize the cognitive style of disadvantaged individuals. I have given particular attention to the untapped verbal ability of these individuals. But there are a great many other positive dimensions of the culture and style of educationally deprived people which are discussed more fully in my book, *The Culturally Deprived Child:*

> The cooperativeness and mutual aid that mark the extended family; the avoidance of the strain accompanying competitiveness and individualism; the equalitarianism, informality and humor; the freedom from self blame and parental overprotection; the children's enjoyment of each other's company; and lessened sibling rivalry; the security found in the extended family and a traditional outlook; the enjoyment of music, games, sports, and cars; the ability to express anger; the freedom from being word bound; and, finally, the physical style involved in learning.
>
> I have also indicated the basic weaknesses of the disadvantaged child which the school must work to overcome: lack of school know-how, anti-intellectualism, and limited experience with formal language. There are others which should be noted: poor auditory attention, poor time perspective, inefficient test-taking skills, limited reading ability. The school must recognize these deficiencies and work assiduously to combat them. They are by no means irreversible, but even more important, because neglected, the positive elements in the culture and style of lower socioeconomic groups should become the guidelines for new school programs and new educational techniques for teaching these children.
>
> There are a number of reasons why it is important to emphasize the positive:
>
> 1. It will encourage the school to develop approaches and techniques (including possibly special teaching machines) appropriate for the cognitive style of deprived children;
> 2. It will enable children of low income backgrounds to be educated without middle-classizing them;

3. It will stimulate teachers to aim high, to expect more and work for more from these youngsters. Thus, it will constrain against patronization and condescension, and the permanent double track system where the deprived child never arrives on the main track;

4. It will function against the current tendency of over-emphasizing vocational, nonacademic education for children of low income background;

5. It will provide an exciting challenge for teachers if they realize that they need not simply aim to "bring these children up to grade level," but rather can actually develop new kinds of creativity;

6. It will make the school far more pluralistic and democratic because different cultures and styles will exist and interact side by side. Thus, each can learn from the other and the empty phrase that the teacher has much to learn from deprived children will take on real meaning. Genuine cultural interaction between equal cultures can become the hallmark of the school;

7. It will enable the teacher to see that, when techniques such as role-playing and visual aids are used with deprived children, it is because these techniques are useful for eliciting the special cognitive style and creative potential of these children. All too often these techniques have been employed with the implicit assumption that they are useful with children who have inadequate learning ability;

8. It will lead to a real appreciation of slowness, one-track learning, and physical learning as potential strengths which require careful nurturing. The teacher will have to receive special training in how to respond to these styles, how to listen carefully to the one-track person, how to reward the slow learner, etc. Special classes for slow learners will not culminate in the removal of these youngsters from the mainstream of the educational process on a permanent second track. And longer periods of time in school and college can be planned for these students without invidious connotations.

Program for Depressed Area

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WE HAVE witnessed in this century a revolution in our agricultural, business, and industrial complex that has created peaks of unprecedented prosperity and at the same time has created so-called depressed areas. During this period we have lived through depressions and mass unemployment, and are now experiencing our highest rate of employment, but at the same time we are also experiencing what has been termed "class unemployment." The effect that these changes are having on our government, economy, educational system, and on each citizen must be of real concern to each of us, as we consider our many problems and plan for their ultimate solution. Our communications media, public officials, and private citizens on numerous occasions have projected their basic reasons as to why we have these depressed areas and have suggested many programs that would help correct the present problems and prevent their occurence in the future.

The State of West Virginia has been labeled a depressed area for the past 4 years. A brief analysis of the State's population and of why certain conditions exist helps one to understand the projected immediate and long-range plan to correct many of the present problems and to prevent their recurrence in the future.

West Virginia is one of the Middle Atlantic States and is located within 500 miles of the concentration of population along the Eastern Seaboard. The State is classed as mountainous, with an abundance of coal, timber, oil, and natural gas. These natural resources and the topography of our land have created one of the State's basic problems: a lack of diversification of industry in many areas.

An evaluation of the economic and social development of West Virginia indicates that the State can be divided roughly into 10 areas, and that within each area similar agricultural, business, and industrial potential exists. An analysis of any 1 of the 10 areas will show that similar problems exist as to employment, unemployment, educational level, housing, family income, and many other factors.

Other identifiable conditions that are a part of the problems faced by the State may be listed as follows:

1. West Virginia's population has shown, according to the 1960 Census, a decline of 7.9 percent since 1950, and it is predicted that it will continue to decline during the next decade.
2. The population loss is now reflected in the decline in elementary school enrollment each year since 1958, and this decline will continue as our population declines.
3. While West Virginia has areas that are classed as depressed, other areas in the State have high employment and family income well above the average. Census data show the following median family incomes for the cities of Charleston, $4,960; South Charleston, $6,605; St. Albans, $6,730; and Dunbar, $6,038. The county in which all of these cities are located has a median family income of $5,205, and the whole State of West Virginia has a median family income of $3,931. By comparison the city of Akron, Ohio, has a median family income of $5,730; and Louisville, Ky., $4,454.
4. A higher percentage of West Virginia's youth is completing high school and going on to college each year. But the 1959–60 school statistics show that 48,658 youth started in the first grade, 31,348 enrolled in the ninth grade, 21,758 finished high school, and 6,063 enrolled in colleges.
5. The mechanization of our mines and industries, resulting in the employment of fewer workers, has sharply increased the number of unemployed workers during the past 3 years. Most of the 60,000 to 80,000 unemployed workers have found it very difficult to find employment because of their lack of education and the skills now required in business and industrial occupations.

This evidence of unemployment rekindled the desire of vocational educators to undertake a training program based upon proven principles of vocational education. This program would be designed to equip an unemployed person with new occupational skills needed to obtain employment. The expediency of recovering human resources brought about positive approaches to solving a facet of the unemployment problem through education. No one department or agency can solve a State's problems. West Virginia has long enjoyed a record of cooperative efforts in attacking problems through local, regional, and State groups.

Informal study of the characteristics of the unemployed revealed that more than half of them had less than a high school education. The scope of occupational skills that they possessed was limited and not adapted to other occupational areas. The occupational skills were considered of a nature that required muscle more than mind. The age of the unemployed was found to be that of the younger worker, that is, within the range of 16 to 44 years.

The study of job vacancies revealed that employment was available for persons considered highly skilled. Another area of job opportunities was found within the service occupations, especially in the categories of repairmen, salesmen and household service workers.

The first phase in the development of the retraining program was for our State staff to become familiar with conditions existing within each county where a high percentage of the labor force was known to be unemployed. In each instance, the county superintendent of schools was requested to assemble a group of community leaders—representatives of business, industry, agriculture, and labor—to discuss the feasibility of conducting a retraining program. This initial meeting focused attention upon the problems of the community or area as it related to unemployed persons, job vacancies, and possibilities for economic growth through retraining. An outgrowth of this involvement with community leaders was the identification of training needs that could be satisfied within that community.

Identification of needs then prompted an inventory of educational facilities in order to determine whether or not it would be feasible to undertake the training program. The outcome of this inventory often showed a total lack of equipment and facilities to do the job.

The second phase dealt with the development of the course outline and instructional materials needed to accomplish the occupational objective. This task required employer contact to assist in formulating the list of manipulative abilities and the technical knowledge needed by an individual desiring employment in the occupation. This course outline served as the basis for rechecking the proposed training facility so as to determine whether or not additional tools and equipment would be needed. The majority of occupations selected for training fell within the operator level of work.

The third phase dealt with the promotion of the retraining program. Announcements of the training courses were made jointly by the county superintendent of schools and the manager of the Employment Security office serving that community or area. This retraining program involved representatives of the West Virginia Department of Employment Security from its initial conception. They agreed to recruit, test, counsel, and refer applicants for training to the school. They also agreed that, upon completion of training, they would undertake to locate employment for the trainees.

Financing this retraining program has been done primarily through the use of funds appropriated by the State legislature for this purpose. The program is conducted by the several county boards of education who have contributed the use of their school facilities for this educational activity. In most instances, State funds are used to pay instructors' salaries and provide instructional supplies needed by the unemployed engaged in retraining. Administration and supervision of this State program for retraining the unemployed has been assigned to the State Director of Vocational Education and the Division of Vocational Education.

In 1½ years of operation (July 1, 1960, to January 1, 1962), 302 courses, ranging from 42 hours to 600 hours, have been started; 195 courses have been completed. Enrollment information shows 5,787 entering; 1,847 dropouts; 2,760 completing course; and 1,475 known to be employed. Thirty-seven counties have provided from 1 to 25 courses. Nineteen counties held courses with 100 or more enrolled. Thirty-two separate courses have been outlined and offered throughout the State.

The State's investment in retraining and the return to employment for many youth and adults through cooperative State and community action have proven that education, especially vocational education, can help in redeveloping manpower. The basic objective of the State's unemployment training program is to train or retrain the individual worker so that he can be placed in employment in a recognized occupation.

The employment practices in increasing numbers of businesses and industries now require high school graduation or the equivalent as a condition for employment. This requirement, when related to the large number of school dropouts, pointed up the need for an academic program in addition to the skilled training and related information included in the State program for unemployed workers, now in operation.

A statewide committee appointed to study this problem and representing all facets of public education developed the second phase of the educational program for the unemployed titled, "An Ungraded Academic Program for Adults." This program is based on the results of statewide studies by the Department of Employment Security, showing that approximately 60 percent of all unemployed youth and adults in West Virginia had dropped out of school between the 7th and 11th grades. A developmental program was projected in four areas—communication skills, mathematics, science, and social studies—that would permit the student to work at his own speed and level of ability in acquiring the basic academic skills.

Student and instructor guides were completed in February 1962, and three counties were selected to serve as pilot areas to determine the adequacy and effectiveness of the ungraded academic program in building academic skills. Twenty unemployed individuals who had dropped out of school between the 7th and 11th grades were tested and selected by the Department of Employment Security. All individuals were enrolled, or will be enrolled, in a program to provide vocational skills in addition to the basic academic skills.

Qualified instructors who had a broad experience in teaching both youth and adults were selected to serve as leaders in directing the classroom activities, the testing program, and the individual work of the students in the academic program.

The three classes, located in different areas of the State, were started during the latter part of April or the first week in May. Members of the instructional staff of the State Department of Education and county supervisory personnel are working with the staff of the Division of Vocational Education to assist the instructors in all phases of the pilot program.

While it is too early to reach any conclusions pertaining to the programs that are now in operation, basic objectives will be constantly evaluated to determine:

1. The effectiveness of the student guides in helping the individual to acquire the basic general education skills, and the needed revisions in the guides.
2. The instructional staff required for this program and their qualifications.
3. The testing and guidance programs needed to select the students and evaluate the results.
4. The group and individual instructional programs, the instructional aids, the reference materials, and the supplies required.
5. The psychological barriers and inhibitions that are involved when individuals have dropped out of school and then either enroll for, or reject the opportunity for, further training.

The problems of transition from our public schools to satisfactory employment or higher education begin and end with individuals. When the individual is a school dropout, the problems involved are many times more difficult to solve.

The series of articles in March 1962 in the *Saturday Evening Post* titled "We Waste a Million Kids a Year"; the publication, *Southern High Schools and Jobless Youth* (1961), by Stanley Wiggins; and the book, *The Dropouts* (1962) by Solomon O. Lichter and others, are examples of the many studies devoted to our school problems and the dropouts.

The following was part of a story written by Burl Osborne in a recent AP release appearing in the *Bluefield Daily Telegraph:*

> From the day that James Paul Wagner was born, his parents saved for the dream that he would become the family's first college graduate. But the dream didn't come true. Half-way through the 11th grade, behind in his studies, Jim quit school when a teacher told him he was wasting his time in school. In the files of Princeton High School, Jim is listed as a dropout—

> **a boy who didn't bring home a high school diploma, much less a college degree.**

Thousands of 16- to 18-year-old youths in West Virginia face the same problems as Jim Wagner, as they look to the future in an adult world—a world that is demanding skills and abilities far beyond the training of the school dropout. The West Virginia Legislature in February of 1962, recognizing the serious problem of the school dropouts, ordered a one-county pilot experiment in compulsory job preparation. This would be a mandatory program for all male youth, 16 and 17 years of age, who dropped out of school before completing high school.

Mercer County in southern West Virginia was selected as the pilot county because of the large number of school dropouts and the high percentage of unemployed workers in the county. A study of dropouts was started in the pilot county during the month of April by visiting the homes and interviewing all male dropouts and their parents. The schools were also visited to secure information from the principal, teachers, and the permanent record cards about each dropout. This information is being compiled into a complete profile of each dropout that will be used in planning the job preparation program to be conducted during the summer months, and studying the many problems of the school dropout.

Factual information secured from 150 dropouts visited to date reveals that most of the boys are interested in an educational program geared to their abilities, interests, and needs. Data compiled to date shows that the boys dropped out of school during the 7th and 11th grades. The parents of the boys dropped out of school on the average in the 6th and 7th grades. Only three fathers and five mothers of the school dropouts interviewed were listed as high school graduates. Complete data on this experimental program will be compiled and presented to the 1963 legislature and to all State educational leaders.

The three programs described illustrate examples of the many concerns and problems that must be faced by educators as they look at tomorrow's schools. We are living in a world of change. The effecting of significant change in our schools will depend upon the cooperation and attitudes of school administrators, business and industrial leaders, and the general public, working together to meet the needs of all youth and adults.

Some Special Projects of the Chicago Board of Education

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CHICAGO IS USING a multiple approach to its many-faceted problem of improving opportunities for the educationally disadvantaged. In the following pages I will report on three of these programs: the Doolittle Project, the Elementary Summer-School Program, and the Dropout Project.

I feel a great deal of pride and a sense of accomplishment at having been invited here as a professional person in the field of social welfare representing a school system that "dares to experiment."

> "We'd still be driving horses today if somebody hadn't been willing to experiment."
>
> "I've never done anything like this before, but if it will help these kids, I'm glad to do it."
>
> "While other people are counting numbers, we are counting kids. When they are kicked out of school or they remove themselves from school, we pick them up, learn about their problems, and find a place for them."

These three comments, by three persons working in the Chicago schools, reflect the attitude of enthusiasm that has spread through our city's schools. The first comment was made by Benjamin C. Willis, the dynamic executive who heads our school system. The second comment was made by James Charing, a heating-equipment repairman who has volunteered his time to teach student dropouts some of the techniques of his trade. The third comment was made by Mrs. Louise G. Daugherty, the Director of the Special Projects and a district school superintendent. Each of these persons is working in his own way for better education in Chicago. All three know that because "It's never been done before" is no reason for not doing it now.

Many services for the disadvantaged child have been tried and proven successful in Chicago; others are in the experimental stage. Among these are:

- Extension of counseling, high school and upper elementary.
- Addition of social workers.
- Experimental summer school program in grades 1–6.
- Psychological services through the summer.
- Employment of two psychiatrists.
- Preregistration day.
- Teacher orientation day for new teachers.
- Pupil behavior courses.
- Vocational guidance and educational centers. (Drake North school).
- Doolittle project.
- Afterschool educational clinics.
- Special project for overage elementary school students.
- Cooperative work-study program.
- Dropouts:
  - Jobs for youth.
  - Special project—hospital training.
  - Carsons School—expanded to 500 pupils in autumn.
  - Expansion in nine districts under Pupil Personnel Services.

The Doolittle Project

Dr. Kathleen M. Cooney, principal of the Doolittle School, gives the following summary of this elementary school experiment:

The general purpose of the project was and is to promote the optimum development of each pupil in a culturally deprived community through improving the influences of the school, the home, and the neighborhood. The program involves cooperative, on-the-job action-research by teachers, a study of the vertical sequence of the curriculum design, group dynamics, special consultant services, counseling services, parent education, and effective use of community resources.

Its major goal is to maximize the social values of the preadolescent child. It is assumed that, only after an individual has achieved a wide range of satisfaction in the fulfillment of social needs and wants, can he direct his energies toward the full development of his talents in creative and productive activity. The satisfaction of these social needs and wants is consistent with the basic objectives of democracy—the recognition of the worth and dignity of the individual and the promotion of healthy and mature citizens.

This idea has serious implications for the education of our children. The creation of an environment in which the pupil can achieve his full potential as a person of worth and dignity offers the school its greatest challenge. As Dr. V. Clyde Arnspiger of East Texas State College has said, "The classroom may be said to be promoting and maintaining democratic goals when its practices tend to increase the probability that more and more of the members of that class share in more and more of the social values."

It is quite clear, therefore, that the greatest responsibility of the school is to see to it that pupils are given access to these values. In every contact with his pupils, the teacher is either sharing or withholding social values. The classroom represents an institution created by school personnel, who determine its policies and practices. Whether the classroom is democratic or not depends upon the procedures followed in that room.

For operational purposes, a list of important social values has been developed by Dr. Harold Lasswell of Yale University and Dr. Arnspiger:

1. *Power*—participation in the making of important decisions.
2. *Respect*—treatment consistent with human dignity. This is one of the most important of all human needs.
3. *Economic security*—goods and services people need and want, income adequate to satisfy one's present and future needs.
4. *Enlightenment*—information one needs to make important decisions.
5. *Skill*—full development of one's native ability.
6. *Well-being*—good mental and physical health.
7. *Rectitude*—moral practices and ethical standards.
8. *Affection*—warm, friendly relationships with people.

Since these value categories encompass practically all the needs and wants of any individual, we can appraise the degree to which our schools are moving toward democracy by examining their practices in sharing or withholding these social values.

A few brief illustrations will indicate in just what way democratic school and classroom practices contribute to the development of the social values:

Power: All pupils are encouraged to participate in the making of important decisions with respect to the establishment of many classroom practices.

Respect: Recognition, courtesy, and help are accorded every member of the class on the basis of merit.

Economic Security: Pupils are introduced to various occupations, encouraged to consider their preferences and the requirements for securing and keeping that job.

Enlightenment: Every possible medium and method of instruction are made available to contribute to this social value. Pupils are offered an enriched program, with concentration on audiovisual aids and field trips; much attention is paid to developing skill in critical thinking and problem solving; everything possible is done to create and promote a high regard for scholarship.

Skill: All pupils are encouraged to develop their own talents and skills to the limits of their capacities. Such talents include motor skills, skills of thinking and communication, and social and esthetic skills.

Well-being: The teacher and the school do all in their power to promote the physical and mental health of the pupils. Mental health in particular is dependent on the availability of other values.

Rectitude: Pupils are encouraged to set their own high standards and to assume personal responsibility for their own behavior.

Affection: The teacher strives toward congenial relationships with the pupils. Any temporary denial of affection is directed only against serious cases of antisocial behavior.

It goes without saying that these social values need not be taught separately or distinctly. For example, many classroom learnings may appeal to the pupil's interest in terms of multiple-value goals. A situation may involve the need to be respected, to be enlightened, to acquire a certain skill, to be loved, to earn money, to be healthy, to make decisions, or to be considered a "moral" person. Certainly it would be difficult to justify any instruction in any subject area which did not include one or more of these social values.

With the above premises as its basis, the Doolittle project was begun in the fall of 1959. The coordinator and a steering committee representing the Doolittle staff met with the consultants early in the school year. At this meeting, the list of social values shown above was presented to the group. This list provided a framework for thinking and planning during the early stages of the project. There were many meetings and conferences directed toward the study of the worth and dignity of the individual in a democratic society. A checklist of democracy in the classroom was prepared and distributed to each member of the faculty.

The project began with an experimental group of seven teachers, one from each of the grades from kindergarten through sixth grade. The project staff worked intensively with this group in many areas: curriculum, classroom climate, instructional materials, behavior problems, and parent education.

From the beginning it was agreed that the children in the classes should in no way be a select group. The "project children" were those who were then in the experimental teachers' rooms. The groups were as homogeneous or heterogeneous as those one finds in any normal classroom. The class size was average.

The classrooms were provided with movable desks, additional audio-visual aids, a wide variety of instructional materials, and science apparatus. The emphasis was placed on flexible groupings with individual and small-group instruction. Pupils were provided with developmental texts and auxiliary materials which took individual differences into account. Teachers were encouraged to accept each child at his own level of achievement in each curriculum area and to take him as far as he was able to go.

As the project continues in operation, each class is organized as a social group. Since most living today is cooperative, individuals are only effective insofar as they are skilled in group relations. Developing attitudes of good citizenship in children increases good social living skills. The citizenship task in the classroom is to help children be socially sensitive, socially responsible, and socially intelligent members of the group. The project teachers work cooperatively (a) in studying how social responsibility, social sensitivity, and social values develop in boys and girls; and (b) in planning learning experiences which develop such social skills and attitudes.

The National College of Education provides the services of curriculum area consultants in science, mathematics, and language arts. The science program has been enlarged and enriched to include field trips for firsthand nature study, classroom science corners with living animals and plants, and practical experiments in both physical and biological sciences. The mathematics consultant carries on weekly seminars for the project teachers during the lunch period to provide practical learning experiences in "modern" mathematics. In addition to this, during the schoolday, he works directly with the students, demonstrating modern teaching techniques.

The services of a social worker consultant are available for selected children in the experimental group. Many different types of problems are handled, including behavior problems of children in the project rooms.

Parent education is a most important aspect of the Doolittle project. This phase actually began with the general health survey of the schoolchildren followed by over 1,000 individual parent conferences regarding findings, recommendations, and referrals. Later the parents of the children in the experimental rooms were invited to attend monthly meetings. All the programs are designed to help parents to a better understanding of their children. Panel discussions are held on the subject of home, school, and community problems which might be reflected in the conduct and behavior of some of the children. In individual conferences, community resources are made known to the parents to help with certain mental, physical, or emotional problems.

Teachers are encouraged to be ever on the alert for signs of tension, early symptoms of illness, and the like. Special emphasis is given to the development of the skills of self-study and to the ways the student may overcome the anxieties, the frustrations, and the fears which threaten his achievement of good mental and physical health.

Teachers have their attention fixed on the framework of social values; they are systematically undertaking to implement these goals and are consciously making the effort to conserve human resources in the school by creating an environment wherein the pupil can achieve his full potential.

Since its inception, the Doolittle project has been enlarged to include four "teams" of teachers from kindergarten through grade 6. We are now expanding the program this semester to include the entire school, and shortly thereafter, three neighboring schools. This may involve increasing the consultant services to reach more teachers for longer periods of time. The original Wieboldt Foundation grant for 3 years has been extended for another 4-year period.

The process of evaluation is essentially the process of determining to what extent objectives are actually being realized. In this case, since the objectives are to produce certain desirable changes in the behavior patterns of the pupils, evaluation is the process of determining the degree to which these changes in behavior are actually taking place. This cannot be determined by a paper and pencil test. Such an objective as personal-social growth is more easily and validly appraised through observation of children under conditions in which interpersonal relations are involved.

In addition to a general subjective estimate that there has been improvement in personal-social behavior, there are a number of objective indications of the success of the project. There has been improvement in attendance and improvement in achievement scores as measured by objective tests.

A number of informally observable gains have resulted from the operation of the project. All of the changes are in the direction hoped for when the project was begun. They include the following:

1. Changes in teacher attitude toward pupils and parents.
2. Changes in pupil attitude toward teachers.
3. Improved parent-teacher and parent-school relations.
4. Greater coordination of the instructional program as a result of teamwork on the part of the experimental teachers.
5. Stimulation of teacher interest in the improvement of instruction.
6. Development of citizenship training through exchange and sharing of ideas and materials by teachers.
7. Helpful consultative service promoting professional growth.
8. Demonstration of the creative potentialities of our children.

Elementary Summer School Program

Of the many projects going on in the Chicago schools, none is tied more directly to this desire for emphasis on the individual than the experimental summer school program in grades 1 to 6. Begun in 1960 with 24 classes in three schools located in densely populated areas where growth had been rapid, the program attempts to set up an ideal elementary school situation. Pupil participation in the program is voluntary. Class size is held to 25; outstanding teachers are selected, and they take part in 50 minutes of inservice education daily during the sessions.

Last summer the program was expanded to include five schools. The children came from 27 regular elementary schools. Four sections of 25 pupils were set up for each grade: one section reading at grade level, one reading above the level, and two below. About 40 percent of the schoolday was devoted to the teaching of a sequential program in language arts, about 20 percent of the time was given to arithmetic. and the rest to a unit which cut across subject lines and involved the children in studies of broad topics.

Further features of the summer schools were parent-teacher conferences—at least one and sometimes two with each child's parents—and the use of "specialist teachers:" psychologists, librarians, teacher-nurses, and subject-area consultant. In addition, an abundance of audiovisual and other instructional materials was made available.

Tests given the children in arithmetic and reading before and after the program have established progress "too great and too consistent to be a matter of chance," according to those working in the program. As Superintendent Willis says, "There is no doubt that we would improve the education of all our children if we could put them into classes of 25 and give them the attention the children in the summer program receive. But how do we do it? It takes many staff members and it is expensive."

The Dropout Project

Mrs. Louise G. Daugherty, Director of the Special Projects and District School Superintendent, and Alfred Rudd, Acting Director of the Chicago Project of the Great Cities School Improvement Program, give this informal report:

Our Chicago Project, the Great Cities School Improvement Program, which concerns itself with improving the program of education for children in disadvantaged communities, has placed primary emphasis on boys and girls who are 14 years of age or over and still in elementary school. In addition, increasing interest has been focused upon younger children who are retarded in grade level achievement and older youths, aged 16 to 21, who have left school before high school graduation and who are likely to be unemployed and unemployable.

In classes of 30, these retarded pupils from eight elementary schools have been grouped in one center. Here, under the direction of a principal, Mrs. Helen Isbitz, and a specially appointed assistant principal, stimulating units of work, or topics, have been presented. Such units have been based upon the maturity, interest, and possible vocational aspiration of the pupils. Among these units could be listed "The Catalog," "Installment Buying," "The Newspaper," and "The Student Council," which have been distributed to the directors in our small group meetings. As an outgrowth of the student council unit, a book was developed relating how the youngsters learned to use a voting machine and how they learned some of the democratic processes of government through participation in their election. Although this may not be "new" to elementary education, it was "new" to these students, for were they not in a special grouping, they would not have been selected for representation in a student government body.

The establishment of a reading clinic within the school and a new approach to classroom instruction in reading with teachers working in teams of three is proving quite successful.

Afterschool band and vocationally oriented low-order skill classes were offered, including typing, gasoline service station, wood products assembly, pre-employment class, and reading laboratory. Although this was an unusually hard winter, attendance was good.

The opening of Drake Vocational Guidance and Counseling Center to serve older students of this age group (14 to 17) resulted in a revised structure in the afterschool program. Whereas the new vocational guidance center will offer expanded, intensive vocationally oriented shop training, the afterschool low-order skill shops are being set up to simulate a student business-manufacturing group. Each shop is to take part in the production of a salable item not currently being manufactured by industry. This is in the final stages of planning; the item has been selected and a good outlet secured for its distribution.

As of March 15, 1962, young people still in elementary school will have been placed in jobs through our employment counselor. Job placements are usually for a 5-month period, although some are for longer and some for shorter periods of time. In order to qualify, the student must participate in the afterschool pre-employment course of eight sessions. Wages earned range from $3 to $12 per week plus carfare and sometimes lunch.

Special interest groups which were largely concerned with urban 4–H activities enrolled over 350 children who were overage for their grade and who needed some kind of guidance for better use of afterschool time. Science, sewing, camera, cooking and other interests were all worked out under the framework of urban 4–H. Each of the 21 groups had a parent as well as a teacher sponsor, and each met in the home of a child at least once per month. A savings program for this group has been started in cooperation with the local bank. The cash prizes awarded at Club-a-Rama will, we hope, become the initial deposits in the bank. Savings will be stressed continuously.

Principals of four schools have planned with the Special Project staff some special laboratory approaches to reading and arithmetic which will be tried in the afterschool hours in the local schools. Children selected will be in the normal range of intelligence, but will be underachieving in skill subjects. Each school is developing its own program to reinforce its own efforts. Parents, teachers, and principals are enthusiastic. Successful techniques can be adapted to in-school teaching as rapidly as they prove their worth.

Increasingly large numbers of pupils, parents, and teachers are participating in the cultural development program. More events are being held within the schools; concerts, dances, choral and instrumental performances, and plays are beginning to claim about two weekends per month. Sunday trips are as well attended as those on Saturday, with principals, teachers, parents, pupils, and even dropouts climbing into buses bound for new experiences.

Our last Sunday excursion (March 11) witnessed a group of 227 from one school attending a ballet and 165 from the afterschool program attending a choral recital.

A teen-age census revealed 1,687 young persons in our immediate school district in the out-of-school group; 63 percent were unemployed. Reaching out to these young people, staff counselors through letters, postcards, telephone calls, and home visits have contacted several hundred. Through personal interviews, testing, group and individual counseling, over 200 have voluntarily returned to formal evening school classes. Group guidance to the evening school returnee is given by a staff counselor.

Special short-term transitional classes set up between 4 and 6 p.m. in Dunbar Vocational High School have attracted 192 students in the following areas: cosmetology, Civil Service preparation (reading, writing, filling out applications, taking tests), hospital occupational training, typing, automobile painting (masking of cars for painting), automobile mechanics, pre-employment, alterations, and pressing.

These classes are designed to help these young people become employable in the shortest possible time. It is hoped that if employment results either from their efforts or from those of the project, they will continue a school affiliation. For some, these classes will serve as training in order to get ready for industry training or evening school.

Occupational training courses have been set up in specific areas. Manufacturers of men's clothing have participated in the setting up of courses in the needle trades; such courses are predicated upon skill on power sewing machines. Young adults, both male and female, are eligible. Working as a catalyst, the Illinois State Employment Service (ISES) has brought together industry and the Special Project. Agreements for sharing responsibilities for greater service to the trainees have been reached:

Special Project staff identifies prospective trainees and does the initial counseling and educational testing.

Illinois State Employment Service screens the trainees and reports to the Special Project which candidates have the aptitudes necessary for success in the industry.

Special Project staff sets up a skill training program which has been agreed upon by the manufacturers, the Illinois State Employment Service, and the project.

The manufacturers furnish the power equipment and send a daily supervisor to note the progress of the class and to serve as a consultant in improving techniques and goals.

At the end of the training period, the trainees are to be placed in jobs by the Illinois State Employment Service.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America Union participates on a consultant basis.

After placement, the ISES is to give follow-up job counseling if the student requests it. The Special Project is to give follow-up counseling in the educational and personal areas, encouraging the new jobholder to remain in school during the evening hours.

Manufacturers have indicated they are interested in young people who have the capacity to advance in the trade. The first class started in February 1962. There are 110 applicants on the waiting list who have been screened by ISES and project counselors.

Michael Reese Hospital has agreed to cooperate by serving as a training outpost for hospital workers below the level of nurses' aide. Trainees are given academic work in a school facility and on-the-job training in the hospital. Working hours, responsibilities, length of training, etc., are agreed upon by the hospital, the project and the student-trainee. Completion of the course will make the trainee a better employee in the 129 hospitals in the urban-suburban Chicago area. The first group started in March 1962.

Although the work experience counselor is primarly concerned with jobs for the in-school group, approximately 60 students from the dropout group have been placed in part-time and full-time jobs at earnings as high as $125 per week.

Completion of the pre-employment course and maintenance of a school affiliation are requirements for getting and keeping positions secured through the project. As work training and occupational training courses are completed, postjob counseling and supervision will be given to all working students as well as those who secured jobs through the pre-employment course.

Because of the serious purpose of the afterschool program and because it involves pupils from 11 to 21 years of age, the Chicago Teachers College (South) is conducting two courses—Practicum in School Counseling I and II—in Dunbar Vocational High School building. Students in the practicums are able to gain experience with pupils from a variety of backgrounds and ethnic groups. Necessary basic information can be given by project staff, who correlate the practicum counseling with the efforts of the classroom teacher.

Our schools are moving toward employing social workers. Practicum students are learning how to work with school social workers, and the project social worker is now the first to be designated in that capacity. Thus, the student who serves as a trainee for a future counselor can make a contribution to the welfare of the schools, even though he has been unsuccessful in an academic setting.

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An Adventure in Human Relations

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Wilmington Public Schools
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IN AUGUST 1959 the Wilmington Public Elementary School initiated The Three Year Experimental Project on Schools in Changing Neighborhoods, sponsored by the Wilmington Board of Public Education and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The need for this study was urgent.

Mobility

Like other urban communities, Wilmington was experiencing great shifts in population as a result of a number of factors. Chief among these were the movement north of migrants from the South, largely from rural, deprived areas; the migration of a smaller number of technical and professional workers attracted by the industrial and professional opportunities in this area; the influx of Puerto Ricans; and the movement out of the city of large numbers of middle-income and professional workers attracted to suburban life. Within the city, people uprooted from their neighborhoods to make way for a throughway and for slum clearance were moving from deprived areas into middle-income areas.

Desegregation

The flight to the suburbs of many urban middle-income families, which began in earnest at the close of World War II, gained impetus as a result of the Supreme Court decision of 1954. Consequently, a large number of children from middle-income families were gradually removed from the public schools in the inner city, and children of migrant and uprooted families moved in.

In May 1954, following the Supreme Court's decision to desegregate the public schools, the Wilmington Board of Education directed its administrative staff to arrange for the desegregation of elementary schools in September 1954. In June 1954, the school year closed with 4 segregated Negro schools and 10 segregated white elementary schools, all with segregated staffs. In September 1954, the school year opened with 13 schools in use, 4 of which were still segregated because of the residential patterns. Seven of the 13 schools opened with desegregated staffs. Approximately 20 percent of the children were Negroes. In 1959–60, only one school remained uniracial (white); by 1961 all elementary schools were desegregated, and 54 percent of the children were Negro.

The Negro staff had increased from 75 in 1954 to 102 in 1959–60, an increase of over 33 percent. The entire staff was now about one-third Negro.

Hope on the Horizon

The chief problem created was recognized to be that of living together harmoniously. In August 1959, the Director of the Delaware Regional Office of the National Conference of Christians and Jews (NCCJ), Elmer Paul Brock, proposed to the Director of Elementary Education of the Wilmington Public Schools the initiation of a Three-Year Experimental Project on Schools in Changing Neighborhoods to improve human relations. The NCCJ would provide consultant service, some office expenses for postage and materials, and eventual printing costs for reporting. The school system would provide the project administrator, Dr. Muriel Crosby, who was to have complete authority and responsibility for leadership in initiating and developing the study.

While the general goals of the project were firmly established in the thinking of the leadership group, it was recognized that the defining of goals, the development and acceptance of basic assumptions underlying the study, and the initiation and development of a plan of action should be clarified in cooperation with participants. Following are the goals, basic assumptions, and the plan of action as they emerged during 1959–60, the first year of the study.

Major Goals

1. The development of curricula emphasizing human relations concepts, skills, sensitivities, and understandings to meet the needs of children and their families in changing neighborhoods.
2. The development of cooperative community action programs to make it possible for adults working with children and their families, in whatever capacity, to coordinate their efforts in identifying and developing indige-

nous leadership, enabling the people of a community to help themselves to achieve a more satisfying life.

3. The development of a research design for the study to provide:
   An accurate assessment of the social and personal needs of children and their families who live in Wilmington's changing neighborhoods;
   A clear description of the processes used by school and community agencies and an assessment of their effectiveness;
   An assessment of the effectiveness of the project in helping teachers, administrators, and community leaders in enabling children and their families to meet their human relations needs.

Basic Assumptions

1. The work of the school (curriculum) and the changes essential in the school community in its broader sense (community action) must be interrelated if the schools are to fulfill their obligations of developing a curriculum with "use value" in the child's living at home and in his community. A functional curriculum depends not only upon the school but also upon the family and the community. The influence of family and community impinge upon the school and become a force for failure or success of school attempts to provide for the child a good climate for educational growth. The schools cannot carry the responsibility alone, nor can any other single community agency.

2. Focus would be upon the following:

The needs of children, which are the motivating force in curriculum building (curriculum).

The needs of teachers, which underlie the research emphasis in the project (research).

The needs of parents, which shape the community action aspect of the project (community action).

Plan of Action

Procedures to be followed throughout the 3 years of study were developed under the direction of the consultant. These embraced six major steps:

1. *Diagnosis*

During the first year, diagnosis of children's human relations needs was to be emphasized through a study of—

> Relationships in the family (child-child, parent-child, parent-parent. Indoctrination and the categories of relationships mentioned provides the dynamics for prejudice).

> Relationships in communities (neighbors, families-agencies, families-institutions, families-community workers).
>
> Relationships in play groups (child-child, groups standards, conflicts between groups standards and family standards).
>
> Relationships in the American scene (relationships between individuals and American society).

A variety of instruments were to be used to discover children's perceptions of themselves and the world about them. These included:

> Open-ended questions, such as "What do you like about your neighborhood?" "What would you like changed about your neighborhood?" to determine the children's perceptions of their neighborhood, homes and families, friends, and others.
>
> Sociograms, reflecting children's work and play choices among other children.
>
> Time budgets, providing some indication of how children spend their out-of-school time and with whom.
>
> Autobiographies, providing insight into children's understanding of important events in their lives.

Children in the intermediate grade level would write their responses; primary grade children would draw pictures to be supplemented by explanatory comments dictated to the teachers.

2. *Analysis of human relations needs*

Children's responses would be analyzed by participants to detect possible clues to children's needs. It was recognized that such responses would provide clues only, for obviously they could not stand alone. They became more significant when related to other sources of information, such as school records, test scores, observations, conferences with parents and colleagues, and teacher judgment. Later, as teachers studied these data about their children, their competence in making judgments and in using information about children increased.

3. *Relating findings to the curriculum*

Throughout the first year, the activities related to the diagnosis and analysis of children's perceptions of their needs would be incorporated into curriculum planning.

Of significance in planning appropriate educational programs for children in every school are the following facts:

> Each participating school, regardless of its general economic status, enrolls the children of families representing the substandard to average or above-average income;
>
> Each school's enrollment includes the children of families representing a vast range of values;

> Each school's enrollment includes children representing the total range of human capacities, intellectual, emotional, and physical.
>
> Each school's enrollment includes children who may be called the "advantaged," for economic poverty and its crippling influence upon children may be offset by parents whose love and care make it possible for a child to flourish and grow toward maturity in the context of genuine emotional security. To participants of the project, this is revealed continually. Ample evidence is found in what our economically deprived children say and do. When a child who looks at his degrading physical evironment can say, "I like my neighborhood because my neighbor takes me in when I am cold;" when a child can write, "I want to be a plumber but first I must get my schooling. My mother never had schooling and she says it is the most important thing a boy can have," teachers know that values to live by are rooted in people, not in material possessions. This is the hope that makes education focused on human relations skills, sensitivities, knowledge and information the potent force it can be.

4. *Constructing teaching plans and curriculum materials*

The major emphasis of the second year of study was to be on curriculum development, utilizing the findings obtained in the diagnostic and analytical steps of the first year and continuing to use the skills learned in diagnosis and analysis as a basis for curriculum building.

5. *Trying out the plans*

Throughout the third year of the study, curriculum materials would be developed by participants to be tried out, evaluated, and duplicated for others to try out, modify, adapt, and evaluate.

6. *Evaluation*

While evaluation is a continuous process throughout the study, emphasis during the third year of study would be upon evaluation and redevelopment of curriculum on the basis of strengths and needs determined throughout preceding years of the project.

Preparation for Cooperative Community Action

The two basic goals of the project were recognized from the inception, initiation, and planning as parallel goals of equal significance. During the first year, stimulation of interest on the part of lay citizens and representatives of other agencies in the city became the primary objective; organizing for school-community action, the second objective; and initiating community action, the third objective.

Moving into the Second Year of the Project

As the public elementary schools in Wilmington prepared for the second year of this study, the six original project schools volunteered to continue their participation with an increased number of staff members entering the project. Six more schools entered the project, making a total of 12 of the 15 elementary schools in the city. Teacher participants increased from 60 the first year to 165 the second, thus including approximately 52 percent of the teaching staff.

While the constantly changing facets of life in the city make it difficult to categorize elementary school neighborhoods, nine of the schools which participated in 1960–61 may be identified loosely as representative of economically deprived school neighborhoods; three represent middle and upper-middle economic school neighborhoods.

The first year of the project had focused on the learning of diagnostic techniques by the school staffs; the second year would feature the continued use of these techniques, while at the same time the findings would be providing the direction for curriculum development for human relations education.

Inservice Education for New Insights and New Skills

During the second year, it became essential that teachers understand something of the relationship between the achievement of goals in education for human understanding and the achievement of academic goals. Participants defined curriculum in human relations education as understanding oneself in relation to other people and to social institutions. Several important premises were established and clarified to guide efforts to assure these dual goals.

> The premise that children learn better when they see a need to learn means that getting at children's felt needs through diagnostic techniques has use value for the teacher.
>
> The premise that the child's motivation to learn acutely affects the quality of his learning means that when a child sees purpose in learning, his achievement in reading, arithmetic, social studies and other subjects can be expected to be greater than it might be otherwise.
>
> The premise that a human-relations-focused curriculum is conducive to the development of human relations skill, sensitivities, knowledge, and appreciation means that we are concerned with helping children and their families achieve more satisfying school, family, and neighborhood life.
>
> Achievement of the usual academic skills becomes of greater significance than formerly, for competence in learning demands the ability to read, to use arithmetic, science, and the social sciences, art, and music; and to practice good psysical and mental health. There is no dichotomy between academic skills and human relations skills. They reinforce one another.

Through inservice education in building experience units in which children might develop or extend concepts and generalizations related to human relations skills, sensitivities, and knowledge, the participants developed many resource materials which were to be shared with others during the third year of the project.

The Community Organizes for Action

During the first year, efforts were geared to—

> Providing opportunities for school, agency, organization, and lay representatives to become acquainted and to establish the kind of rapport which would lead to sound working relationships;
>
> Initiating school neighborhood action programs to be developed by professional leadership from schools and agencies as a means of discovering and developing indigenous leadership.

During the second year, these efforts began to pay off. Included among the achievements of cooperative school and agency leadership were:

> The establishment of Price Run Community Council;
>
> The establishment of a plan whereby Block Blight, Inc., would offer assistance and guidance to home owners desiring to rehabilitate their property in the Williams School neighborhood;
>
> The establishment of an interagency council for two schools. Of this council the principal writes:
>
>> Two schools have an interagency council which meets two or three times a year. This council is composed of agency representatives who serve our school community. The membership is composed of parents, ministers, PTA leaders, youth service leaders, and school personnel.
>>
>> Problems dealt with are those directly concerning our small community. It is the philosophy of the group that no one agency is equipped to do all of the jobs needed to be done in our community; that if each agency shared a part of the bigger problem, we would be able to achieve a degree of accomplishment with serious problems.
>>
>> During the past two years this group has assisted the school in many ways. Peoples Settlement cleared an area south of Fourth Street for the establishment of a playground in that area. Christian Community Center has provided the school with a free lunch donor and a used clothing outlet. The YMCA and the YWCA have established after-school clubs in our building.
>>
>> Redevelopment officials kept us alert to the progress of the redevelopment program and the whereabouts of our parents and pupils involved in redevelopment.
>>
>> This group is now interested in working with some of the hard-core cases that live in our community. Case conferencing has been suggested. We hope to arrange for one case conference before the close of school.
>>
>> Agency officials have expressed satisfaction with the meetings that have been held. Personally speaking, I believe that we have done as much for interagency relationships as for better school-community agency relations.

A marked acceleration of cooperative effort between the Youth Aid Unit of the Bureau of Police and the schools to prevent antisocial behavior of children in a number of neighborhoods.

These and many other outcomes of cooperative school and agency effort are recognized as primarily school-initiated. It was recognized from the beginning of the project, however, that something more than school action was needed. Just as schools have primary responsibility for the education of children in school, so it was felt the community has primary responsibility for helping children and their families in any needed phase of family and community life. While the schools have a community responsibility for full participation in common community endeavors, other agencies must accept responsibility for coordinating their efforts toward common goals. The responsibility was generally recognized, but the means for implementing it presented problems and hazards centered in the following factors:

Public schools operated within a well-established structure which makes the administration of the school project relatively simple. Community agencies do not have such a structure. Each agency is usually unique and relatively independent of other agencies, and responsible to its own distinct administration and board. Establishing a common framework or structure in which agencies would coordinate their actions became one of the most perplexing problems encountered during 1960–61;

Coordinating action programs caused some agency representatives to be concerned about the exercise of authority. Did the proposed plan contain seeds of conflict in authority for the participants? Was there a threat to the autonomy of individual agencies?

Past experience of failure by others to coordinate action programs of community agencies was a psychological block to some participants;

The composition of the membership presented another "unknown" in the experience of the participants. Religious leaders were accustomed to cooperative efforts with other religious leaders; welfare agencies were accustomed to cooperative efforts with other welfare agencies. Organizations generally worked within their own individual structures rather than across the board with other agencies and organizations. Lay people often served on boards of agencies and organization as volunteer workers or financial contributors, but seldom as equal partners with professionals in coordinating action programs. Added to the vast variety of personnel in the present community, agency, and organization project were the Bureau of Police, the Youth Aid Unit, a professional sorority, and others, each established to fulfill specific responsibilities. It remained to be seen whether or not a large disparate membership could eventually function successfully as a group bound together by common concerns and common commitments to a common goal;

The dedication of an agency or organization to its purpose, function, and program gave rise to doubts and, in some cases, fear. Was an attempt being made to impose programs upon agencies and organizations? Would this mean a redirection of established programs from outside the organization? Most difficult of all, where would an administrator be found for the community organization project comparable in function to the administrator of the school project? Lacking funds to employ an administrator, being unable to secure administrative leadership from already overburdened agency staffs, would the project find that the "pinch hitting" of the administrator would be adequate for the job?

How these problems and hazards have been met provides a fascinating report of group processes at work, processes that deal with—

Learning ways and means of communicating.
Establishing mutual confidence.
Defining a common goal.
Identifying common problems.
Seeking mutually acceptable ways of working.
Gaining new insights and understandings.
Planning for the development of new skills and new achievements.

That the project was "off the ground" was a tribute to the personal goodwill, professional skills, and deep commitments of the members of the group, and to the continuing support and help provided by the National Conference of Christians and Jews through its directors of Program Development for Schools and Colleges, and Program Development for Community Organizations.

Throughout the second year, community agencies and organizations united to arrive at a common task or goal through which each would attempt to coordinate its efforts in working with the people of the community. After a year of earnest struggle, the following statement was accepted:

> WE, the Community Agency and Organization participants in the Three-Year Experimental Project on Schools in Changing Neighborhoods, address ourselves to the task of improving the quality of relationships among people in order to affect the direction of community change.

A Steering Committee was elected and plans for the third year evolved.

The Third Year of the Project

In the school aspect of the project, the use of diagnostic techniques and the development of experience units were continued. Evaluation, a continuing process, was a major responsibility if the termination of the formal aspects of the study was to leave us with directions for the big pull ahead. Not until some time in the future will it be possible to treat the data collected and reach objective conclusions regarding the value of the project.

Subjective and descriptive evidence of progress toward the goals we sought is of great significance to the participants. The final evaluation will provide evidence of the following achievements in the schools:

> A closer identification of teachers with their children. Complaints about children, formerly rampant, are no longer heard. A change in attitude of the staff is pronounced.
>
> A deeper understanding of the function of the public school in its neighborhood setting. An acceptance of the responsibility of the school to serve all its children, disadvantaged as well as advantaged, has been achieved.
>
> A greater satisfaction in the teaching role because of a greater commitment and greater success in the achievements of children. Of 24 teachers leaving the city schools for suburban assignments during the last 5 years, 22 had not participated in the project. We seem to have stemmed the flow of city teachers to the surburbs.
>
> A lack of tension in school living. Less fighting, and greater orderliness and comfort in classrooms and buildings are marked.
>
> More widespread and effective curriculum planning. Planning, always a problem, is more common and is more deeply rooted in children's needs and interests.
>
> A more realistic defining of standards. Through the project, participants are demonstrating an understanding of the fact that outside standards applied to all children are unrealistic and impossible.
>
> Teaching individual children instead of entire grades gives promise of eventual widespread practice.
>
> A more widespread use of enrichment experience through participation in cultural activities in the community. "Little Horizons Programs" are developing.
>
> Evidence of greater achievement in standardized test results. Returns on one school's 55 fifth-graders (lowest economic level, group intelligence scores 60 to 143) reveal a median total achievement growth in a year, whereas 6 to 9 months has been typical for children in these circumstances. The median score for vocabulary, formerly the lowest score in reading and language, was one month short of 2 years' growth. Conclusive evidence awaits the study for data for all participants.

In the community aspect of the project several illustrations of progress are provided:

> The Unitarian Church, one which moved with its congregation to the suburbs in the late 1950's, has been making an effort to recognize the responsibility of the suburbs to the city. Its Social Action Committee has been active in participation in the Three-Year Experimental Project on Schools in Changing Neighborhoods. Its most recent newsletter carried the following report:
>
> > Co-sponsored by the Wilmington Board of Education and the National Conference of Christians and Jews, this project has involved several of our church members, representing community agencies and organizations and our own committee.
>
> The first- and second-year reports, profound and insightful, by Dr. Muriel Crosby, may be borrowed through the Social Action Committee.

Most of the problems being discussed at the Changing Neighborhoods committee meetings are of wide scope and are being studied by the developing neighborhood associations as well as by welfare agencies, churches, etc. We found that by meeting some of the basic requirements of children in the city public schools our church groups and individuals filled a gap in services available.

For example, 200 free lunches were contributed as a result of appeals in our church bulletin. Contributions came from the Women's Alliance and from individuals.

Shoes are being collected by our church school youngsters and are being delivered to the Wilmington schools.

The Women's Alliance sewing groups have been sewing new school clothing and have made several dozen smocks out of worn shirts contributed by members of the church.

Volunteers from our church are also helping the trainable-retarded children from the Opportunity School, on Fridays, at the YWCA, with their swimming sessions.

We intend to keep posted on activities and needs revealed through the Changing Neighborhoods project and will keep church members informed of the areas in which we can be helpful.

In some schools and neighborhoods Puerto Ricans and other Spanish-speaking children need language assistance which the schools and other agencies are not yet prepared to provide adequately. There is a need for volunteers who can assist a few hours a week. Our committee would be glad to hear from you if you speak Spanish and might be able to help.

Students of the Wilmington scene find much encouragement in the multitude of signs of positive action in the community. Whereas less than 3 years ago we had only 2 neighborhood councils, we now have 12. Price Run Community Council has been a trail blazer and is demonstrating what can be accomplished by citizens who care. Churches of many denominations are moving way out front in stimulating the people to action. New citizens groups are springing into being and some older ones are getting a second lease on life. Regardless of the initiating source, an examination of membership reveals that usually a number of participants in the community aspect of the project are deeply involved in the work of the citizen's groups.

The YMCA has engaged in a number of cooperative ventures with project schools:

1. **The establishment of afterschool recreational groups in three elementary schools.**
2. **The Y staff and school staff of one inner-city school hold regular planning sessions for counseling boys and planning afterschool activities.**
3. **A friendship group has been established for one school on Saturday nights at the YMCA.**
4. **"Indian guide" teams of father and sons are adopting small "braves" who have no father.**

In one school neighborhood all agencies offering summer programs have planned activities to avoid duplication and to provide for all ages, preschool through teens.

A women's honorary educational society has established a door-to-door survey to provide guidance of residents in contacting agencies able to serve them.

Note: Material for this report has been abstracted from the first and second annual progress reports of the Three-Year Experimental Project on Schools in Changing Neighborhoods, 1959–61, *An Adventure in Human Relations.*

The Washington, D.C., Program

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THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA public school system is similar to those in most urban areas in that the needs of the pupil population have grown more rapidly than the ability of the taxpayer to provide the necessary staff, supplies, and buildings. The student population of the District of Columbia could well be characterized by two significant words: ever-expanding and mobile. We have approximately 130,000 students in our schools, and we anticipate an increase in 1963 of 5,000. Mobility can best be illustrated by citing the 16,000 separate school transfers of students moving in and out of schools in the school year 1961–62. Much of this movement is the result of immigration, chiefly from Maryland and Virginia and also from other States in the South. However, the greater part of it is simply movement from school to school and from neighborhood to neighborhood.

During the last 15 years, we have seen significant changes in the racial composition in our pupil and teacher populations. The Negro pupil membership has increased about 3 percent each year during this period. At the present time our pupil population is 84 percent Negro. Concurrently, there has been a change in the racial composition of the teaching staff, but this change has not been nearly so rapid as that in the pupil population.

Our needs are dramatically highlighted by our shortage of school buildings—an estimated $120 million worth of buildings would only bring our facilities up to a standard considered barely adequate.

In spite of the above-mentioned problems and difficulties, we have gathered together a dedicated and highly competent staff, the key to any successful educational program. We have shown slow, steady growth in achievement on standardized tests during a period when the citywide average IQ has fallen lower and lower. The increased holding power of our schools and the academic successes of our students who attend college are just a few of the indexes we use to measure our success.

Before considering our efforts with children in culturally deprived areas, I would like to mention three basic tenets of our educational philosophy which must be understood before one can understand the particular school system of Washington:

1. We are dedicated to the policy of homogeneous groupings. We "track" students as early as they can be identified. Unfortunately, many people think that tracking implies a static placement of the student. This is not so. There is a great flexibility and mobility in our placement of students. At the senior high school level, we have a four-track curriculum (honors, regular college preparatory, general, and basic); at the junior high school level, a three-track curriculum (honors, general, and basic); and at the elementary school level, a three-track curriculum similar to that in the junior high schools is instituted in the 4th grade.

2. We are not coy in dealing with students in whom we have identified academic talents. Students with college potential are almost "forced" into courses which will prepare them for college. We believe that students should take the most demanding program possible. This makes it necessary for us to spend considerable time and effort in counseling students and parents in order to persuade the student to see the wisdom in meeting the challenge of hard, solid, academic subjects.

3. Dr. Carl Hansen, Superintendent of the Washington, D.C., Public Schools, explains our combined efforts to bolster the elementary school program in his book *The Amidon Elementary School* (1962). This program is a successful attempt to teach children directly in a highly organized manner. It might be said that this is being done in other places throughout the country. Our plan is an effort to teach children specific subject matter areas in a highly organized way so that they will learn better and faster and will, if the teaching is as good as we hope it will be, develop confidence and self-respect as well as skills.

Washington has its own Peace Corps. We call it the Urban Service Corps. This corps is staffed with paid personnel consisting of an assistant superintendent, two assistants, and adequate clerical help. Funds for this program were provided by an anonymous donor, and the program was formally inaugurated at the close of the last school year. The Urban Service Corps has as its objective to bring together in a planned, intelligent manner those forces in the community which can help a child who needs more attention than the regular school can supply.

I should like to tell about two or three of the current programs of the Urban Service Corps. One is a program for unwed mothers. We know definitely nearly 400 youngsters under 16 years of age left our school system last year due to pregnancy. This does not represent the total figure. Statistics only record those students who were so reported to the school attendance department. At the present time, we have no regular in-school program of visiting instruction for these youngsters. Under the Urban Service Corps we have brought together retired teachers and competent housewives, who are continuing the education of these girls either at home or in an administration office building. Many of these youngsters are now returning to school, picking up their academic programs where they had dropped them last year. Formerly, they merely missed this time from school, and this lost time delayed their educational progress. During this period at home, we also attempt to provide some guidance for these girls in baby care, home management, and the like.

A second program of the Urban Service Corps is being conducted at Cardozo High School. This school building had been long neglected. In recent years we have spent great sums of money to make this fine old building a satisfactory school plant. Today the equipment and plant condition ranks with the best in our school system. It is a large school with a present enrollment of approximately 1,500. At the last parent-teachers meeting at Cardozo, the auditorium, which has a seating capacity of 1,900, was filled. In the past we were lucky to get 250 people to attend a parent-teachers meeting. This change is primarily due to the efforts of an imaginative principal, Dr. Bennetta Washington. She has completely changed the image of this school through her dynamic leadership and her imaginative program. Nothing extra, except improvement of the physical facilities of the building, has been provided.

Another successful program is the one at Boys' Junior-Senior High School, a school for patently disturbed boys who in former years would have been excluded from school. Many of these boys are known to the court and have long histories of delinquency on file in our department of pupil appraisal. We have deliberately kept this school small, with a maximum enrollment of 50 boys. These youngsters must be accompanied by their parents before thay are admitted. After a conference, a hand-tailored program is made. Purposely, we have a great deal of parent involvement. The counselor, the principal, and the teacher assigned to locating jobs work closely with the home. We accept these boys for what they are. We understand that they are angry people, dissatisfied with school, and very frequently dissatisfied with life.

This year five of these boys are working in a department store warehouse. This is a big breakthrough for us, because acceptance by the big industries in the city will mean future job contracts. We had placed many boys with small businesses because of the personal impact of Hyman Perlo, the job-conditioning teacher; but now that we have induced a large company to employ five of these very, very questionable risks, we believe we are making great progress. We feel that these jobs will be earned and retained on a businesslike rather than a personal basis. Mr. Perlo has to start by teaching the boys to shake hands. To develop middle-class values for these boys is not easy. Last week, we had an awards assembly at which a civic club gave two bonds to worthy boys. One of these boys received a citation of recommendation from the police department because he had prevented a very serious street attack. Two years ago this could never have happened.

We added a social worker to one school staff, and unfortunately for us, she was so good that she was promoted to be one of the directors in the Urban Service Corps. This social worker was assigned to a school slum area which was primarily concerned with the coordination of community agencies. The families she helped were serviced by any number of agencies, but there was such a lack of coordination among them that frequently there was duplication and wasted effort. We had some success with this program.

The other program I should like to discuss is the Macfarland-Roosevelt Guidance Project. This is a 6-year program for students entering Macfarland Junior High School and continuing at Roosevelt High School, both in the northwest section of the city. A section of the city that is in transition racially, it is occupied by an increasingly large proportion of Negro residents. We could have located this project in any number of other schools, but we wanted it in a community in transition. We were also looking for a school where we had a racially integrated staff and student body. We did not write this into the project, but we were very definitely interested in attempting to face realistically the angers and resentments often felt by minority groups. Other problems appeared. What happens when a minority group becomes a majority group? How do you find the leadership in the minority group which can recognize and cope with this change? It is difficult to discuss these problems in a manner that is neither hostile nor condescending, but the administration and teachers at both Macfarland and Roosevelt have done a masterful job in handling this situation.

This does not mean that there have been no problems. To the contrary, the program has broken down from time to time, but we have learned much from these failures. We saturated this school with additional personnel; an extra counselor, a social worker, additional psychiatric services, and three remedial teachers. We made a serious mistake in the beginning in providing cultural opportunities which were too far removed from the experience of the children. We have redirected the cultural activities now in terms of reality, with emphasis on showing Negro youngsters successful Negro artists, colleges, and the like. By kindling their interest, we have expanded their horizons to the point that most of the students now clamor for tickets to the National Symphony concerts.

This year we have continued our parental involvement and have greatly strengthened our relationships with the parents. Here the principal of the school is not involved. Small groups of parents meet with the counselor and the social worker. As a general rule these groups meet after school or in the evening with small section groups—25 or 30 parents at the meeting.

Let me tell you how we selected the children to be included in the project. We listed all the children in the seventh grade, ranked them according to IQ and reading ability, and then selected every other student for the project. This controlled half of the seventh-grade pupils at Macfarland was saturated with services, and the other half received the normal amount of services. However, as a matter of fact, nonproject students did receive more services, because it would have been unfair not to allow the entire seventh grade to participate. When we compare the two groups we see tremendous improvement in the project group, as shown by (1) fewer disciplinary cases, (2) improved attendance, (3) lower percentage of failure, (4) greater growth in reading, and (5) more upward movement from track to track.

By the time the project is completed, we hope that we can show that this is not simply more expensive education, but good sound education and profitable business in terms of dollars and cents as well as in terms of human values.

While we are not ready to state categorically that this is the only way to approach the education of culturally deprived children, we in Washington are beginning to tingle with the excitement that comes when plans succeed. We are on the way to success. This we believe.

The Higher Horizons Program in New York City

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Demonstration Guidance Program

It is difficult to believe that the first large-scale, systematic program to meet the educational needs of disadvantaged children, our own Higher Horizons program, began fewer than 6 years ago. In 1956, the Demonstration Guidance project was organized in Junior High School 43, Manhattan, and was continued the following year in George Washington High School, also in Manhattan. It had as its major purpose the identification and stimulation of able students. It aimed to inspire such students from a culturally different area, and from low-income families without an educational tradition, to reach higher goals.

Of the 1,400 students at Junior High School 43, 48 percent were Negro, 38 percent were Puerto Rican, and 14 percent were white. Collectively, they suffered from all the ills which a modern society can visit upon the children unfortunate enough to live in its city slums. One-half the children received free lunch, indicating that their families were getting welfare assistance. A high proportion came from broken homes. Many of them were latchkey children, wearing around their necks the key which was mute evidence of an empty apartment when they returned from school. Large numbers lived in SRO (Single Room Occupancy) apartments broken up into single rooms in which whole families live.

From among these 1,400 children, we selected one-half who showed some glimmer of academic potential, no matter how slight. These 700 were 1½ years retarded in reading, with a verbal IQ score of 95.

There were some failures. Of the original 700, only about [illegible] remained in the experimental group when they went on to the George

Washington High School. Overall, however, the results were amazing:

> On the junior high school level, reading scores increased from 5.4 in grade 7 (1 year and 4 months below normal) to 9.7 in grade 9 (3 months above normal);
>
> The number of high school completions increased by 39 percent as compared to previous groups;
>
> The number of pupils who went on to some form of higher education increased 250 percent;
>
> Verbal IQ scores (which usually go down with age for underprivileged children) rose from a median of 93 in grade 8 to a median of 102 in grade 11;
>
> In a high school graduating class of more than 900, project pupils ranked 1, 4 and 6;
>
> Pupils were accepted by such colleges as Amherst, Columbia, Union, Franklin and Marshall, and Michigan.

Higher Horizons

History.—The success of the Demonstration Guidance Program led to its extension in September 1959 to 13 junior high schools and to the 52 elementary schools from which their pupils come. At that time, we introduced the program into grades 3 and 7. Since then, we have been adding one grade at a time. In September 1960 we included grades 4 and 8; in September 1961, grades 5 and 9; and in September 1962 we included grade 6, and also grade 10 in 11 academic and vocational high schools. At that time we had 53,000 pupils—35,000 in elementary schools, grades 3 to 6; 10,000 in junior high schools; and 8,000 in grade 10 of high school.

There is one very great difference between Higher Horizons and Demonstration Guidance. In the Demonstration Guidance Program we dealt only with the academically able. These numbered one-half of the student population in junior high school, only one-fourth upon high school admission, and even fewer for each succeeding grade. In the Higher Horizons program, we include all children, the academically disabled as well as the academically able.

Decentralized Operation.—It has not been generally recognized that our program represents in reality a decentralized operation. The goals and the standards for evaluation are the same for all districts, but each field assistant superintendent, in cooperation with the principal, determines the specific program for an individual school. This decentralization results, in a large part, from the heterogeneity of population in New York City. Even among the underprivileged, there are degrees of disadvantage. The problems of the de facto segregated school in the slums of Harlem are quite different from those of the de facto segregated school in Queens, where the population is socially mobile. Then again, these two schools differ markedly from the school in the South Bronx, with its predominantly Puerto Rican population, or from the school in a neighborhood with a large immigrant Portuguese and Italian population.

There are no two districts and no two schools which have precisely the same program. This can best be illustrated with reference to the use made of the special teachers. Every district in which there are Higher Horizons schools has received an additional allotment of teachers. In District A, these program teachers have been assigned to individual schools primarily as curriculum assistants and teacher trainers. In District B, they have been organized in "teams" of teacher training specialists in such areas as reading, mathematics, science, and social studies, and they visit schools on a scheduled basis. In District C, they have been assigned to individual schools mainly to carry on programs of reading improvement. In District D, program teachers have been assigned to individual schools, with the scope of their duties to be determined almost entirely by the principal. All of them spend a good part of their time participating in such activities as parent and community education, cultural activities, teacher training, curriculum improvement and enrichment, and remedial work. From school to school, however, there is a shift of emphasis depending upon local conditions.

Special Services and Funds.—For the school year 1961–62 the Higher Horizons program cost about $1.5 million, or about $35 per pupil. This money is being spent for 16 additional guidance counselors and 140 additional program teachers, together with added funds for books and supplies. Actually, the advantage in favor of our disadvantaged children is much greater than $35. In terms of professional workers per thousand pupils, the difference in favor of the underprivileged children ranges from 15 percent to 60 percent. This difference results in part from smaller class size and in part from our many special programs. Let me illustrate by comparing 2 elementary schools, each with 950 pupils. The first one in a middle-class residential area has 29 teachers. The other, one of our Higher Horizons schools, Public School 171 Queens, has in addition to the 29, 17 full-time teachers and 3 half-time teachers assigned as follows: 5 teachers to reduce class size; 1 special reading improvement teacher; 1 Higher Horizons teacher; 1 Higher Horizons guidance counselor; a special team consisting of a guidance counselor, a half-time psychologist, and a half-time social worker; a half-time attendance teacher; a substitute auxiliary teacher to facilitate the adjustment of the non-English speaking child and his parents to the school and community; and 7 full-time teachers for an All-Day Neighborhood School program. These teachers assist with curriculum and guidance during the regular day session. Between 3 and 5 o'clock, they carry on a specialized group work program.

Other Higher Horizons schools have the following services which I have not formerly mentioned: junior guidance classes, in which the average register is only 10 (these classes are for emotionally disturbed children and the seriously maladjusted); teacher trainers, and non-English speaking coordinators, to serve as curriculum assistants for teachers of non-English speaking children.

No one of our Higher Horizons schools has all of these services, but all have some of them. That is why it is a grave understatement to say that we are spending only $35 per pupil on our Higher Horizons program. In our Higher Horizons schools, we have approximately 30 percent more teachers than in schools in middle-class areas. The scope of operations of Higher Horizons includes not only the 256 teachers and counselors assigned specifically for this program but also more than 200 other teachers. Thus, our Higher Horizons program is a function of all the additional services allocated because of the special needs of the school.

Basic Premises.—The Higher Horizons program is based on the premise that desirable change in an individual child can be effected best by direct influence upon the child himself, upon the teacher, and upon the parent.

If we are to raise the educational, vocational, or aspirational levels of the child, we must first convince him that it is possible. A major effort must be made to raise his self-esteem as a necessary preliminary to improvement in motivation and in achievement. The teacher is the key figure in the total process. She herself must first believe in the child and in the program; she must be the first to catch the contagion of enthusiasm. Faced with the daily demands of difficult situations, the teacher, often new and inexperienced, may tend to lose sight of the tremendous reservoir of potential which exists in all children. Our program has been successful because it has stimulated the faith of teachers in pupils and has given to teachers the means to translate that faith into reality.

The parents are equally important in any program designed to raise the levels of aspiration and of achievement of pupils. Parents always want more education, better jobs, and a better life for their children. It has been our responsibility to convince them not only that these goals are possible, but also that they go together.

Specific Objectives.—The specific objectives of the Higher Horizons programs have been officially stated, as follows:

1. To identify better each child's abilities, interests, and needs.
2. To stimulate each child to attain achievement levels commensurate with his ability.
3. To assist each child in making and carrying out appropriate educational and occupational plans.
4. To create the aspiration of college or other higher education in the minds of students with appropriate ability.
5. To raise the children's cultural sights by exposing students to opportunities and experiences which may not be provided for them elsewhere.
6. To train teachers in the identification of abilities and needs and in appropriate methods of motivation and instruction so that potentialities will be realized better.
7. To stimulate and foster greater teacher participation through encouragement derived from pupil achievement.
8. To encourage and assist parents in providing an atmosphere of encouragement and stimulation.
9. To give parents a better understanding of educational opportunities available to them and to their children.
10. To enlist the assistance of community agencies in supplying necessary services to these pupils.
11. To encourage the community to accept the worthwhileness of higher cultural levels and the fact that each child should be educated to his optimum potential.
12. To develop guidance and counseling procedures and techniques to accomplish these objectives.
13. To do research on new techniques for the identification of pupil needs and stimulation of all children.
14. To develop evaluative instruments for determining the effectiveness of this integrative approach.

The Program in Action.—Wherever it has been introduced, the Higher Horizons program has stimulated the professional staff to greater enthusiasm and endeavor. The avenues of operation have generally fallen into nine distinct categories: inspirational, guidance, teacher training, curriculum enrichment, curriculum adaptation, remedial, cultural, parent and community education, and recordkeeping and evaluation.

1. Inspiration features

One of the truly remarkable facts about the Higher Horizons program is that its total impact has been greater than the impact of its separate features. The enthusiasm generated by the program has spread to supervisors, teachers, parents, and pupils. The very name has served to inspire new hope and to spur new progress. In the beginning, some parents were resentful of the possible implications for the community. Now we receive requests from parent groups that new schools be included in the Higher Horizons program. Student teachers are often eager to receive their training in a Higher Horizons school, and willingly accept appointments to such schools.

Children wear the title as a mark of distinction, and have been heard to boast of their honor to their less fortunate fellows.

These emotional concomitants of the program have often been as valuable as the actual activities. A direct and intensive effort has been made to give to teachers and to parents that faith in children, and to children that faith in themselves, which alone makes progress possible.

2. Guidance

Since individual guidance is the core of the program, one of the goals is an individual interview for each child and his parents at least once a year. Children with special problems may be interviewed many times. This individual counseling for pupils and parents is accompanied by home visits and work with the Bureau of Child Guidance and community agencies. At the same time, group guidance techniques are used with classes and with groups.

The emphasis in group guidance is upon raising the aspirational level of the children, together with the earlier introduction of occupational and educational information. Specific efforts have been made to invite leading community figures into the schools, not only for motivation, but also to serve as "identity figures" for the children.

Counselors participate regularly in faculty, grade, and group conferences designed to further the inservice training of teachers.

3. Teacher training

Throughout the city the program teachers have devoted more time to the training of new teachers than to any other single activity. In one district, teams of curriculum experts serve all new teachers in Higher Horizons schools on a rotating basis. In another district, program teachers are assigned to specific grades, and for the first half of the school year almost the entire resources of the district office were mobilized to help the new teachers. Program teachers give demonstration lessons, conduct inservice courses, maintain resource rooms, provide audiovisual aids, assist with planning and routines, illustrate proper room decoration, and carry on a multitude of similar activities. The peer relationship existing between the helper and the helped has invariably proved a source of great strength. The program teacher has also served to "spark" the entire program in the school, with the assistance of the counselor and under the guidance of the principal. It is often she who transmits her enthusiasm and her spirit to the entire staff, using such devices as meetings, newsletters, committees, informal discussions, readings, and the like. Her efforts have served to renew and revive the faith of the veterans, as well as to inspire newcomers.

4. Curriculum enrichment

In many schools the work of the program teachers has been the focus of a schoolwide effort to enrich the curriculum for as many pupils as possible. In one school they offer enriched experiences in mathematics to upper-grade children; in a second, they give direct musical instruction, either vocal or instrumental, to groups and classes, while carrying on a teacher training program; in a third, they develop creative writing activities for bright children, while the teachers of the classes affected instruct a small group of children who are gifted in art. Such activities often depend, of course, upon the talents of the individual program teachers. In all schools, however, a major goal of the Higher Horizons program is the enrichment of the regular school program for all students.

5. Curriculum adaptation

With the extension of the Higher Horizons program to include all children, there has arisen the problem of curriculum adaptation. The necessity for raising the pupil's self-image has been noted above. Fully conscious of the desire to raise the level of all children, we must nevertheless give to the children work which is within the scope of their ability. This problem has enlisted the best efforts of all the personnel of our Higher Horizons schools. The program teacher has played a leading role in this endeavor, with such activities as the following: organization and maintenance of resource rooms; assistance with materials and audiovisual aids; leadership in construction of resource units; help to individual teachers with special problems; and the writing of school bulletins and syllabuses.

6. Remedial services

Higher Horizons personnel have been used to reduce retardation in academic areas, especially in reading and in mathematics. The program has permitted schools to extend remedial services to more children.

7. Cultural experiences

While all schools try to provide enrichment through trips, such efforts are often limited. With the added personnel provided by Higher Horizons, teachers are better able to plan and take trips which are educationally worthwhile. In Higher Horizons schools, the number of trips has increased tremendously. Tens of thousands of children, many of whom had never been out of their home neighborhoods, have visited such places as Town Hall, City Center, Carnegie Hall, Brooklyn Academy of Music, and the Shakespeare theater at Stratford, Conn. They have seen and heard ballets, operas, puppet shows, concerts, folk dances, plays, and music festivals.

It would be difficult to overestimate the value of these trips. One principal commented, "The children's frame of reference has been truly extended. Words like 'museum', 'ballet', 'terminal', 'automat' are not just sight words. They are real." A parent remarked, "My son never liked school before, and he never talked about it. Now, he tells me things about school and he is beginning to want to read. The teacher says his conduct is a little better too." A teacher said, "My biggest problem used to be to get the children to talk and to tell us how they felt. Now they react almost spontaneously to what they have seen. There has been a great improvement in language work." The cultural phase of the program has had the greatest impact on the community. It has indeed resulted in "higher horizons," not only for children, but for the community as well.

8. Parent and community education

A vital part of the Higher Horizons program has been the development of closer relations between the home and the school. This aspect has been developed in many ways—parent workshops, newsletters, parent associations, adult education activities, cooperation of community agencies, study groups, and the like. The work done in connection with parent workshops and newsletters is typical.

Counselors and program teachers have cooperated in the preparation of newsletters to keep parents informed of school activities. Suggestions are offered to parents as to what they can do to assist in reaching the goals of the program. Joint parent-child activities of a cultural or recreactional nature are featured, such as "Trip of the Month" or "Carfare Trips." The newsletters also include the reactions of children to the Higher Horizons program, ranging from simple one- or two-sentence stories to well-organized paragraphs and poems.

9. Recordkeeping and evaluation

The evaluation phase of the Higher Horizons program is being conducted entirely by the U.S. Bureau of Education Research. This procedure is in keeping with the basic principle that those responsible for the day-by-day operations of an educational project ought not to be in charge of the evaluation of its effectiveness.

The research design includes the matching of Higher Horizons schools with other schools elsewhere in the city. The evaluation will include such areas as verbal IQ score, achievement in reading and in mathematics, attendance, school behavior, self-esteem, and other personal-social areas. A special Guidance Data Card has been developed to assist in the maintenance of meaningful statistical data.

The Bureau of Educational Research is understandably reluctant to issue partial findings prior to the completion of the full report. Nevertheless, two of its studies already released offer considerable ground for optimism. The first of these indicated that the reading scores of pupils in Higher Horizons schools, after 6 months in the program, had increased more than the scores of pupils in comparable non-Higher Horizons schools. The second indicated a greater growth of Higher Horizons pupils in verbal IQ scores, as compared to other pupils. It must be remembered that these findings are tentative and that no final conclusions may be drawn from them.

Qualitative and admittedly subjective evaluations have also been made by those involved in the program in response to questionnaires. Their reactions have been uniformly enthusiastic and have noted 10 broad areas of improvement.

1. Gains in reading.
2. Increased interest of children in school, and increased participation.
3. Better identification of potential.
4. Improved understanding by pupils, teachers, and parents of the role of the counselor.
5. Intensive follow-up of individual cases.
6. Improved attendance.
7. Improved pupil morale and behavior.
8. Enrichment of background of pupils.
9. Improved staff morale.
10. Increased parent participation.

Some Problems In the Organization of a Higher Horizons Program

1. Do we need a new approach to the education of disadvantaged children?

I am asking whether we should not restudy the basic principles of methodology and psychology, insofar as they relate to the education of the disadvantaged. By and large, we tend to use for all children the approaches and the methods which work so well with middle-class children. When the methods fail, we blame either the pupils or their environment or both—rarely ourselves.

The impassioned debates concerning methods of teaching reading, for example, seem rather odd to many of us. The fact is that most middle-class children learn to read well, regardless of the system which is used, while most disadvantaged children do not learn to read well, regardless of the system which is used. The basic question, "How can we teach our disadvantaged children to read?" is somehow lost sight of.

A philosophy should include clues as to priority and importance of objectives. Good mental health must certainly continue to be stressed. Yet a reasonable and tolerable anxiety about schoolwork and school behavior may very well be a condition of academic progress. School time is generally allocated in terms of specific objectives. Ought time allocations to be approximately the same for disadvantaged children as for other children?

It is also important to isolate the factors which enter into a Higher Horizons program and which differentiate it from other programs. Our program in New York City has sometimes been interpreted almost entirely in terms of the additional services provided. At a recent meeting the participants agreed that, if we attempted to organize a good educational program for the disadvantaged, we should probably wind up with a program which would be exactly the same as that for all children. If these two views are accurate, then what meaning can we ascribe to such programs as Higher Horizons? We must seek the differences, both quantitative and qualitative.

It is equally important not to confuse the charismatic qualities of gifted individuals with advances in methodology or organization. Unusual results in a given school or district may be more a tribute to the man than the method.

2. How can a new program be created with limited additional resources?

Almost always, when special projects are established to help disadvantaged children, additional personnel are assigned. The project is not, however, confined to these new people, but is supposed to include a much larger number of professional workers. Each member of this larger group must then understand and accept the new goals, and establish and interpret his own role in the total undertaking. If this is not done, there will be a tendency to identify the program almost entirely with the special help given.

It would seem helpful also to explore the nature and extent of the orientation and training which is necessary. The role of the supervisors, administrators, and specialized personnel should be given careful consideration.

In this connection, it would seem wise to discuss the various line and staff relationships which might be affected by the introduction of a new program. This program might be accepted as a complete reorganization of the pattern of education, or looked upon as just another of many experiments. Obviously, the attitude of top administration is crucial.

3. To what extent should our goals be limited?

In the schools of our New York City Demonstration Guidance Program, we were concerned with only one-quarter to one-half of the student body. For these pupils, our goal was limited: graduation with an academic diploma and college admission. Our present Higher Horizons program was extended to apply to all pupils, the academically able as well as the academically disabled, since we did not wish to restrict our services to the academic elite. We were then face to face with the basic question already mentioned above. What is there about a Higher Horizons school, other than additional personnel, which makes it different from any other school? We came up with some answers and also some additional problems.

The most important of these related to the use of personnel. Guidance counselors were assigned at the ratio of about 1 to 375 pupils, and program teachers at the ratio of 1 to 320 pupils. How could we best use the teachers? As teacher trainers? As curriculum assistants? As remedial teachers? To serve all children or only a few? To teach teachers or to teach children? At what point does the law of diminishing returns set in, if we try to serve all teachers and all pupils?

There is generally a tendency to assign the bulk of the services to the areas where the need is greatest. Instructional and guidance help are likely to be more productive when the children are less retarded and less disturbed. Thus, our remedial reading services are more successful with children 1 year retarded than with those 3 years retarded; our guidance counselors are better able to help those with relatively minor problems of adjustment than those with deepseated personality disturbances. The latter cases might easily absorb all of our services with little apparent improvement.

4. What changes ought to be made in the curriculum and organization of the schools?

This question has already been alluded to. At what age should disadvantaged children begin school? How long should the schoolday be? Time is an extremely important factor in the education of the disadvantaged. If we want to help all the children, it seems inevitable that we must get them younger and keep them for a longer schoolday. How this can best be done is a question which merits the closest study.

There seems little point to extending the exposure of the child to frustration and boredom. Curriculum, materials, and methods should be carefully examined. Such innovations as programed instruction, extended oral-aural practice in kindergarten and grade 1, earlier introduction of prevocational guidance, and use of audiovisual aids in conjuction with beginning reading might be carefully considered.

There are also basic questions as to the best available use of increased personnel. It was not so long ago that our elementary schools had a very simple organization: One teacher for every class and that was all. Now we are in the process of getting much additional help. With 50 teachers per 1,000 pupils in a "special service" school, what organization will achieve optimum results? Very low registers in early grades? One additional helping teacher for each grade? Remedial reading teachers? Special low-register classes to take care of difficult discipline cases?

5. How should teachers of disadvantaged children be trained?

Those of us who work in the schools should work with the college in the solution of this problem. There is, of course, a subsidiary question: How can we persuade future teachers to undergo the necessary training? Very few young people really think of themselves as potential teachers of disadvantaged children. We have to think very seriously not only of the training of teachers, but also of the recruitment of teachers who wish to teach these children.

6. To what extent should a Higher Horizons program be expected to compensate for existing inadequacies?

Many of the disadvantaged children are in schools in slum areas which suffer from a host of disabilities: lack of teachers, poorly trained teachers, disillusioned teachers, outmoded buildings, overcrowding and part-time sessions, large classes, inadequate supplies, unusual problems of discipline, and lack of needed special services.

A Higher Horizons program aims to compensate for environmental handicaps; it cannot function if it must at the same time compen-

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sate for all kinds of educational deficiencies. The whole question of when a special program is really "special" ought to be clarified.

7. What is the proper place of motivation in a Higher Horizons program?

This question pertains to the ways in which a school might seek to motivate disadvantaged pupils to do well in school. Such ideas as models, trips, career guidance, self-esteem, and changing peer values are of great importance.

Another facet relates to the importance of motivation in the total learning process. One group says, "If you motivate adequately, the usual school instructional resources will be adequate." The other group says, "Motivation simply supplies initial momentum, but progress stops unless you increase greatly the instructional services."

These statements are, of course, oversimplifications, but it does not help much to say that both are needed. On the surface, at least, motivation is less expensive than instruction. If motivation alone can get results, why waste money on instruction?

8. How can we get adequate research in the problems of the disadvantaged children?

There have been many reports but few real research studies. Our own Higher Horizons program is being evaluated with funds supplied by the U.S. Office of Education. The need for further research is so evident that little more need be said. Some of the research will hopefully deal with the specific question of reading.

I should not wish to end on a negative note. We in New York City are much encouraged by the success we have had in raising the horizons of our disadvantaged children. We have been equally encouraged by the willingness of our citizens to spend large additional sums of money upon the education of those whom we call the socially handicapped. Our cities face new and great problems: those faced by New York City are unusually great because of the sheer magnitude of the city's population. Although we have not solved our problems, we are proud that we are facing them with a sense of purpose and commitment. We know that other cities look to us for leadership in this crucial area, and we shall do our best not to let them down.

Modifying the School Experience of Culturally Handicapped Children in the Primary Grades

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QUINCY, ILL., is an industrial and commercial center in west central Illinois with a population of 45,000. The per pupil expenditure for education is approximately $400 per child in average daily attendance, about average for the State of Illinois. The percentage of the pupil population going on to college varies between 20 and 25 percent, while between 30 and 35 percent drop out of school before completing high school. The community's population has remained very nearly stationary for more than half a century.

In this type of community there may be less social mobility than in a rapidly growing city. The parent's occupation, the house one lives in, and the area of town one comes from are all rather well known, and seem to have a profound effect upon the educational expectations for particular children. When we divided the potential high school graduating class of 1958 into four social class levels based on these criteria, we found that 71 percent of the children in the upper-middle class went on to college as contrasted with 2 percent of those in the lowest social class level.

All 14 of the public elementary schools send their children to a central junior high school and a central senior high school. Four elementary schools serving a working-class and lower-class area are taking part in the present study. Three of these schools have no Negro children while one is approximately 50 percent Negro. Among the potential high school graduates in the classes of 1958 and 1960, only 47 percent of the graduates of these four elementary schools finished high school, and only 9 percent, mostly athletes, began the freshman year of college. Very few of those who did finish high school did well academically, and many were quite unhappy socially. When we examined the grades in academic subjects earned by ninth graders who had attended 3 of these 4 grade schools, we found that only 5 percent of their grades were A's while 52 percent were D's or F's. Clearly there was a need to modify the school experience of children attending these schools.

These four schools serve a large number of children from stable working-class families. These families share most of the values of the middle class. In these neighborhoods this group is mixed with a considerable number of families who have been unable to adjust to city living in that they do not have stable work histories, have not helped their children get an adequate education, and do not relate to the schools, churches, and other institutions in the community. The majority of the delinquents in the city have attended these four schools, and our interviews with employers have indicated that graduates have often failed to make an adequate adjustment to the world of work.

The staff of the University of Chicago project in Quincy became concerned about the constant defeat experienced by a majority of the children during the junior and senior high school years. Therefore the project staff and the public schools began a program for slow-learning, nonachieving adolescents in the secondary schools. Curricular modifications and group guidance experiences were developed in the hopes of better meeting the needs of these children. We found that we were able to help these children feel better toward themselves and society and that this was somewhat effective in reducing delinquent behavior, but that we had had very little influence on improving the academic achievement of these children in the secondary schools. While this program is continuing and can be improved upon, we hope that by extending it to younger pupils, we will be able to influence academic achievement as well.

After a relatively successful pilot program in the primary grades in one school, undertaken with the financial support of the National Institute for Mental Health, we began a program in January of 1961 aimed at modifying the school experience of culturally handicapped children in the primary grades.

Experimental Design

The population of this study includes two groups of children attending the four experimental elementary schools. The control group consists of the children who were in the kindergarten classes of 1960–61, supplemented by those children moving into these four schools during the first half of the first grade. The experimental group is the kindergarten group for the year 1961–62. There are about 225 children in each of these two groups. About 7 percent of the children attend Catholic parochial school after kindergarten, but over 90 percent of the remainder of the children are still attending the four experimental schools. It is our expectation that the vast majority of the children we began with in the kindergarten will still be available for study 5 years later, that is, at the conclusion of the project.

In an attempt to measure the initial intellectual level of the children in these groups, the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC) was administered to each child during the latter half of kindergarten. Each child was also given the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, and many children were given Binets and the 5- to 7-year form of the Primary Mental Abilities Test, a group test.

The test results seemed to indicate that at the age of 5, the mean IQ of children coming into these four schools is not greatly different from the national norm. The average IQ is in the neighborhood of 95 on the WISC, with a verbal IQ approximately 8 points below the performance IQ. Sixty-nine percent of the children tested had higher performance than verbal IQ's on the WISC.

Throughout the study other types of data are being collected as well. The kindergarten teachers nominated those whom they believed were probably headed toward academic difficulty, delinquency, withdrawn and aggressive maladjustment, social isolation, and poor health. We are also measuring achievement in basic skill areas, school attendance, and the child's feelings about himself and other people. The final evaluation of the experimental and control group will take place early in the fourth grade for each group.

Parent Interviewing

As early in the program as possible we interviewed all the parents of both the experimental and control groups in their homes. We have received the cooperation of the parents for these interviews in all but one or two instances. We believe that this indicates that many families who do not approach the school can be reached by the school if the school goes to them before there are serious problems with their children.

Whenever a person talks about himself, he may be inclined to stretch the truth a little, but here, for what it is worth, are some of the results of our interviews. About one-fourth of the parents say that they graduated from high school, half dropped out during junior or senior high school, and one-fourth terminated their education earlier. Many of the parents of our culturally handicapped children come from predominantly rural backgrounds, and if they could make a living in rural areas, they would be glad to go back to the farm. More than 85 percent of the parents grew up within 100 miles of Quincy. About half of the group grew up on farms or in hamlets in rural Illinois or Missouri. Almost 40 percent spent at least part of their childhood in Quincy. Less than 1 percent grew up in cities with populations of over 100,000.

On a verbal level parental ambitions for their children are rather high, but child-rearing practices leading toward a realization of these ambitions reveal certain cultural disadvantages. Almost all parents say they want their children to "go all the way," that is, finish high school, and a very substantial number spontaneously mention that they hope their child will be able to go on to college. Nevertheless only about 20 percent of the parents do any serious reading themselves, and only one-fourth say that they have had occasion to take their child to the public library which is located in this section of the city.

There are very few families who have any contact with voluntary educational, cultural, civic, or philanthropic organizations. The PTA's in these schools are very small, and their membership is largely restricted to upwardly mobile families. According to the parents, about half of the children have more than occasional contact with Sunday school or church, but we found that 74 percent of the dropouts in the class of 1958 were unknown to any minister or priest in the community.

In summary, it seems that our parents are composed largely of two groups. One of these groups is composed of migrants from rural areas near Quincy. The lack of education has restricted it largely to semiskilled and unskilled labor. The other group is composed of native Quincians who did not have the ability, skills, or motivation to be successful enough to live in a more desirable section of the city. About 10 percent of the child population is Negro.

In the research aspect of the study we will differentiate between those families which provide a relatively adequate homelife and those which do not, but in the action phase of the program we decided to work with all children and families in the experimental group of these four schools. We worked intensively with the latter group of families, but we felt that the low overall percentage of talent utilization in these schools indicated that almost all families had some problems in giving their children a good start in school. Since we are trying to raise both the teachers' and the parents' expectations for these children, we thought it inadvisable to separate the children in this manner during the primary grades.

Aims and Objectives

The objectives of our program are as follows:

1. To understand the child more fully through information obtained through testing, parent interviews, and observation.

2. To provide a richer background of intellectually stimulating experiences for the child through a better use of community resources and school facilities and materials.

3. To enlist the interest, support, and cooperation of the parents in helping to motivate the child to develop his interest and abilities.

The Action Program

In the scientific study of education there are times for rigorous controlled comparisons between two approaches, but we did not feel that we were at this point yet. Rather we felt that we would gain more if we ranged more widely in our explorations. In the action program in both the curriculum and family areas, we are not carrying out a uniform program in each of the four schools, but rather are attempting to find success-producing techniques in a school and then to extend this technique to as many other schools as find it appropriate.

The action program has two facets: the first, curriculum modifications and the second, work with parents.

In considering curriculum modifications it is necessary to ask not only, what do these children need, but also, what are the skills and attitudes of the teachers and administrators. Without the active interest of the teacher nothing significant in the curriculum area can be given a fair trial. Without the cooperation and backing of the principal and administrators, few teachers are willing to try anything out of the ordinary and no curriculum modification can become an accepted practice. Therefore let us begin our study of curriculum modifications with the four kindergarten teachers.

Three of the four kindergarten teachers also taught the control group children. They have long experience in teaching and have taught in these schools for at least 5 years. One of the three teachers had rather close relationships with a number of parents of her children in former years. The fourth teacher had had only one year of teaching experience in another system before entering this program.

I believe that it is accurate to say that several of the experimental teachers were somewhat apprehensive about this action-research. They were not sure what would be expected of them and hoped that it would not take too much additional time. All three of the experienced teachers have teenage children of their own.

The curriculum modifications which we have tried this year in the schools have come about as the result of conferences between the project director, the principal, and the teacher. No specific changes have been made mandatory, but as the year has gone on, the teachers have been won over to greater than usual efforts because their experience has been rewarded by the children's growth and the interest of their principal, the experimenter, and the parents in their attempts to improve the curriculum.

In June of 1961, the summer preceding the entrance of the experimental children into kindergarten, more than three-fourths of the children who entered kindergarten in the fall came to school for a 1-week kindergarten experience. Each kindergarten teacher had five or six children in the morning an another five or six in the afternoon for one week. The next week she had two more small groups. Since each teacher had only five or six children and their parents to get acquainted with, she got to know the children well and had an opportunity to meet the parents. The children became familiar with their teacher, the school, and its routine in a quiet relaxed atmosphere. This made it possible for them to get off to a good start in the fall without the usual crying and hanging on to their mother's skirts. The June kindergarten and the parent interviews were so successful that the schools have decided to continue these procedures with groups entering these schools in the future.

Thus far the curriculum modifications have not been radical in nature. They have been aimed mainly at increasing the child's base of experience and increasing his ability to express himself verbally. Kindergarten children have always gone on 1 or 2 field trips, but this year each kindergarten has averaged at least 10 trips to such places as a pony farm, a bakery, the library, the river, churches, concerts, and construction sites. The curriculum has often been built around the field trips. Stories and books read before and after the trip connected the field trip experience with classroom activities. Sometimes photos were taken on the trip to help the children remember significant aspects of their experience. Sometimes children returned to the classroom and drew pictures of what they had seen. At times we wrote words under the pictures, glued the pictures together to make a scroll, and ran them through a cabinet from an old TV set. If a child's father worked at the city park, the fire station, the dairy, or the airport, we tried to arrange to have him serve as the group's guide, so children could view the work-world more realistically.

We found it valuable to have more than one adult to take a classroom group of 25 or 30 children on a field trip. Children of this age tend to be rather active, so it is helpful to have several adults present if the children are to cross busy streets or to be near machinery or breakable objects. Project workers, college students, the principals, and parents all helped the teacher on field trips at various times. We felt that one of the values of this procedure was the fact that the children came to see that there were many adults interested in what they were learning at school. When they had a question there was always an adult nearby of whom they could ask the question or with whom they could share excitement.

We did not do as much with dramatic play after our field trips as we might have done, but we did encourage children to talk about their experience subsequently and to talk with their parents about their trips. We also urged the parents to encourage their children to relive the trip through talk and stories. We should have sent out a parent newsletter to let the parents who were not coming regularly to parent meetings know what trips we were taking.

Other differences which I noticed occurring during the year were as follows: We used more books in the kindergarten than we had used previously and displayed them on bookracks which showed the entire cover of the book. We brought a relatively large number of picture magazines into the classroom. Children were encouraged to cut out pictures of foods or modes of travel in order to learn to categorize their knowledge. On Friday they were allowed to take home any magazine which they wanted in the room. The teachers felt this was valuable because many of these children came from homes where they are no reading materials of interest to children. We used more films than we had been accustomed to using. We used more paint and finger paint and fewer crayons. We tried to develop children's listening and speaking abilities in the show-and-tell period.

Several of the teachers spent considerably more time on reading readiness this year. Some children react more quickly than others and are more verbal, and when there are only two or three examples of a given type of problem, the more active children shout out the answer or mark it conspicuously while the slower children sit back and listen or copy the correct answer from the faster children. In an effort to combat this, some teachers took small groups of slower children to another room during a free play time, while another adult maintained order in the classroom. In a small group situation where children were sitting in individual desks that discouraged copying from one another, the teachers found that they were able to gain the undivided attention of the slower children and that relatively rapid learning took place.

These learnings were demonstrated by the significant gains made on a readministration of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test and the Primary Mental Abilities Test. We have not completed the analysis of the differences between the reading readiness test this year and last, but the first group which we examined did significantly better than the control group had done in the same school year. The teacher attributes this to an increase in the number of materials that her children were exposed to and to her effort to reach the slower children.

Every teacher has tried a number of new activities and all have shown growth. One teacher who did not want guppies in the room early in the year because they sometimes ate one another was able, later in the year, to tolerate having moles, snakes, guppies, and other animals in the room, because she came to see that observations on the care and feeding of animals could be a learning experience.

There are many things which were left undone this year. We have done very little to develop an organized program aimed at increasing conceptual ability. In one classroom we have been using the Leiter, a nonverbal intelligence test, as a learning device to teach children to make generalizations. We may use the Goldstein-Sheer test in the same way next year. The study of gardening can be a means of learning scientific methods and of developing an ability to make generalizations, as pupils learn to water some plants and not others, to bury some seeds more deeply than others, etc., but we've done little with this idea.

Children from culturally handicapped homes probably encounter enough stimuli, but many of those which they encounter are lacking in variety or in meaningfulness. These children are not used to careful, sustained auditory attention, and therefore we should be developing activities to improve their listening skills. This will have to take place next year.

In two of the schools, beginning in the first grade, we plan to have the children remain with one teacher for 2 or 3 years in the hope that the teacher will thereby be able to get to know better the strengths and weaknesses of each child and will thereafter be able to do a more adequate job of individualizing instruction. We are betting heavily on the involvement of parents in the education of their children, and this procedure will allow more time for teachers and parents to get to know each other and do work together.

Work With Families

In working with families I have had the part-time help of several other persons: a school psychology intern, two social workers from a family service agency, and two teachers who have special qualities and qualifications. Each of us has given about 10 hours a week to working with the parents of one kindergarten group of approximately 25 to 30 children and with the teacher of that group.

Some of us were able to begin our approach to children during the June kindergarten, during which time we had an opportunity to meet the parents and to observe the children with the teacher. Some of the family workers were able to do the research interviewing during the summer preceding kindergarten. These research interviews made further communication with the parents easier.

The family workers had a variety of functions:

Followup interviewing—After the research interviews were finished and the school year had begun, the family workers often returned to homes to ask the parents about their child's reactions to his school experiences. These interviews were also used as a method of getting parents interested in coming to parent meetings or in helping with field trips.

Liaison—The family worker served as a liaison between the teacher and the home. At times the family workers have helped parents begin educational activities at home which were thought to be of benefit to the child.

Observation in the classroom and elsewhere—After observing a child, the family worker often consulted with the teacher to plan a course of action to help that individual or a group of children within the classroom. The social worker or psychologist was able to concentrate his attention on a few children who were experiencing difficulty, and this sometimes resulted in significant insights which in turn led to modifications in the child's later classroom experiences. At times the family worker also discussed his observations with the parents. The Anthony-Bene Family Relations test was sometimes used to see how the child saw himself in the family.

Health and family needs—Some families were so concerned about the father's lack of employment or the health needs of some other child in the family that it was necessary to try to help the family meet these needs before its members could be very concerned about the needs of the kindergarten child. This meant that the family workers worked with the school nurse, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, the speech correctionist, and others in coordinating remedial actions, and in one instance taught a father how to read and write. One of our experimental group fathers returned to high school for two classes a day and several others started night school partly as a result of these interviews.

Parent groups—The principal work of the family workers has been with parent groups. About half of the parents have participated in these groups. These groups have been somewhat varied through time and varied from school to school. Most of the early groups were built around discussions which followed films depicting the behavior of 5- and 6-year-olds. Topics discussed included such things as fearfulness, discipline, shyness, and the normal expected behavior of children of this age.

We found that the parents were interested in knowing more about what the teacher and children were doing at school, so parent programs were developed around such subjects as report cards, reading readiness, and arithmetic. Children accompanied their parents to an evening meeting and demonstrated what they were learning at school. Programs were also built around the subject of what parents can do at home during the summer to help prepare their children more adequately for the first grade.

In two of the schools the parents decided that they would like to improve the physical condition of the kindergarten classroom. They decorated the room, painted the furniture, made a playhouse complete with triple-track windows, made May baskets for their children, and sewed doll clothes and curtains. Several parents said that at this kind of parent meeting they felt that they were doing something concrete toward helping their child get a better education. One school had at least 10 Saturday sessions of this type. The teacher and family worker were always present and even the principal helped with the playhouse. The coffeepot was always on, and the social distance and verbal barriers between teacher and parents became less important as communication became easier.

It has been our observation that in these neighborhoods many parents have a strong need for social contact with other families because they do not belong to organized groups. We observed that when we sat around a table over coffee, the parents seemed more relaxed and were able to express themselves, so we moved toward this type of program.

In one school the parent group organized itself into a group which was headed by officers and which scheduled activities on its own initiative. In other schools the parent groups did not have a long-range program, but did take on an activity from time to time such as the planning and carrying out of a picnic or a field trip held after school hours. The racially mixed school ended the parent activities for the year with a picnic for the 40 kindergarten children and their families. About 150 people attended the picnic.

The activities of the parent groups have had a number of beneficial results. The children have seen that their parents are interested in what they are doing in school and have sometimes been able to help them in learning experiences. The parents have become acquainted with their children's friends and with the teacher and principal of the school. This in turn has resulted in an esprit de corps, so that when problems have arisen, communication between school and home has been easier.

Some of the limitations of the parent groups this year are the following: Almost half of the parents did not come to any parent group meeting. (Many of the nonparticipants, of course, were interviewed in their homes by the family workers and frequently in these interviews significant conversations about the child took place.) Some parents seemed to have no intention of coming to a continuing series of meetings. When asked whether they would come to the next parent meeting, they would tell the worker, "I already came once." Thus far, we have done little to get parents to bring other parents to the meetings. This technique would probably be effective in bringing a somewhat larger number of parents.

We have felt a need for someone to devote more time to this area of the project in order to evaluate better the things we have tried and to spread knowledge of useful techniques and activities from one school to another. Family workers have met on a bimonthly basis this year, but more thought and more communication are needed if we are to make as rapid progress as we would like to make.

Activities of College Students

There is one other group of activities which should be mentioned. In one grade school a small group of specially selected social science and education students from a nearby liberal arts college have been coming twice a week to work with small groups of kindergarten children. Their activities have been varied. Sometimes they have worked with three or four children in art activities, dramatization with puppets, or in craft work.

The students feel that they have made their most valuable contribution by talking to and listening to the children. They have taken frequent field trips with small groups of four or less children. Most of these trips have been walking trips in the downtown area. For example, a student took two children to a department store to find out what kind of things were sold there. The trip ended with a dish of ice cream in the mezzanine restaurant. During the trip the child is developing his speaking and listening vocabulary, and he is finding out that he is a worthwhile person, that other people are interested in his welfare and in helping him learn, and that there are many interesting things to learn in the world immediately around him.

The activities of the college students have been planned in a monthly session with their professor at the college, the principal of the school, the family worker, the project director, and the teacher. The teacher and the students see the children under differing circumstances and frequently contribute something new to the understanding of the child. The activities of the students will be expanded into the first grade next year, but the work with the kindergarten teacher will continue. When satisfactory procedures are found in the experiment, it is important that they be continued. We also plan to expand the work of the students to other grade schools next year. We feel that we are making a significant contribution to the education of students heading toward careers in teaching, psychology, and related fields.

While thus far we have been relying on college students, other groups might also be utilized to make possible parent-teacher conferences or work with small groups of children. Most high schools have Future Teachers or Future Nurses organizations, and in almost every community there is a Service League or other group interested in helping young people.

We have noticed that the men students seem to make an unusually strong impact upon the children. A man who is interested in children and in their educational activities is too rare in these neighborhoods. The increased involvement of the principals in the project and the men family workers have also helped to meet this need. In time we hope that through our work with parents, more fathers will learn to play this significant role with their own children. We have therefore made an unusual effort to get fathers to come to parent meetings and to see that fathers are present when home visits are made.

Accomplishments and Failings

To sum up our accomplishments during the first year of the action program, we feel that we have significantly increased the involvement of the parents in the education of their children. As a result of the home visits and our appeals for help from the parents, the parents have come to feel welcome at the school. The parent groups have brought more parents to the school, and many of them have returned for PTA meetings and for individual conferences with the teacher. The parents and school personnel have come to know each other as people, and the parents have seen the teacher in action with their child.

As a result of their kindergarten experience, we feel that the children have more often seen themselves as worthy. We have attemped to help each child see himself as attractive, as a person who is learning, and as a person who is secure enough to attempt new things.

It takes interest and support for either teachers or children to try something new, and we have found that both groups become more involved in those tasks which they have chosen for themselves. This has meant urging teachers to let children paint pictures about the aspect of a trip that most impressed them rather than to ask the entire class to picture the same event. For the teachers, it has meant that we have only suggested, but not demanded, possible curriculum changes or ways of working more closely with parents. We have urged teachers to try something that makes sense to them and then to examine their experience and make modifications.

As the year has progressed, we have come to see that a somewhat more clearly defined program is necessary. We are therefore listing our goals and spelling out those practices which we know to be effective in achieving these goals. We are also listing those practices that we are currently testing to find out whether they are helpful and those practices which thus far are only ideas for possible experimental efforts in the future. While we want the program to remain flexible, we want to be able to learn from each other and end the project with a number of activities and methods which have proven themselves effective. This procedure should help us accomplish this aim. Thus far I think that everyone involved in this effort has felt rewarded for his efforts. This includes the principals, the teachers, the parents, and the family workers.

Working Toward More Effective Education

A Report on the Detroit Great Cities Project—After One Year

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EVIDENCE PRESENTED to the Board of Education and to the community indicates that in Detroit and other large cities there reside concentrations of families whose children are severely hampered in their schooling by a complex of community, home, and school conditions. These conditions, comprising the cultural environment in which many of our pupils live, are essentially negative in their effect on the child's school experience.

The "culturally deprived" child, then, is the child deprived of a way of life that would encourage him to become a contributing member of our society, to achieve stature and self-reliance as a person, to have his own reason for being. Detroit is trying out programs designed to improve in some way the schooling offered to pupils located in a part of the city where large numbers of children are affected by these negative conditions. Detroit is working through seven "project" schools, involving 420 school personnel and 10,400 children and their families.

To these project schools come many children from blighted and socially disorganized areas. In their homes are few books or magazines. In their lives there are few incentives for a school education, and there are many distractions from schooling. Often there are broken homes, with all the ensuing difficulties and insecurity. Often there is poverty. Families are mobile, moving from farm to city and from neighborhood to neighborhood, seeking change.

The parents of these children are not against education. At worst, they are indifferent. Many would like their children to have the best possible education. They are glad if their child does well in school, but they feel that they do not know, in their own seeming lack of success, how to help the child succeed.

The culturally deprived child often has ability levels which indicate he could perform well if reached and interested by what the school offered. And yet this child in the typical classroom appears to be indifferent and purposeless, a poor communicator who does not respond to "normal" teaching methods and subject matter. His capabilities remain unrealized. Why?

The traditional responsibilities of school staff and objectives of school services are based upon a uniform "successful American" social and economic pattern at variance with the nonuniform social and economic patterns which characterize the neighborhoods from which these children come.

The typical school is not prepared to compensate for the various deprivations in the lives of these children, deprivations which cause them to gain less from schooling than they might and less than they need in order to be competent citizens. The typical school finds it difficult to give the child the time and training that will develop in him the motivation and goals he needs. The typical school is not structured or oriented to provide those reinforcements to school learning which, in a stable middle-income area, are normally provided for each child by his home and out-of-school life.

Many of these reinforcements are intangible. They include an acceptable self-image; knowledge of such essential matters as nutrition and hygiene; an implicit sense of identification with a stable family in a stable neighborhood; security and freedom from want, both material and emotional; and self-confidence and motivation to achieve.

Such positive factors are essential in some form in the growing up of a child. They are firm ground beneath the learning process. If they are insufficient or lacking, and no compensation is made for them, then the child's ability to learn is impeded or lost. He must have them, it seems, in order to do well in the typical school.

Experience in educating culturally deprived children has shown that the investment of educational funds and energy in a traditional approach often proves futile in achieving the public schools' stated purpose—developing self-respecting, productive, and discerning citizens. Teachers who come to schools which serve deprived areas find that their own different cultural backgrounds, their academic preparation, and their previous teaching experiences have not given them the understanding and the proficiency they need in this new situation. These teachers are not as effective in dealing with the pupils and parents here as they were in more typical schools, where children came from homes that tended to reinforce and complement the usual school program.

This is one area in which the project is seeking solutions. It seeks to develop, through intensive orientation of teachers and staff and involvement of the community in school activities, a kind of two-way understanding whereby parents and teachers reinforce each other and provide positive experiences for children—experiences such as a quiet place for study at home or a conference between parent and teacher to resolve some conflict which keeps the child from working well in school.

This sort of school-family contact and cooperation has helped children to be more effective learners and has given parents the positive ability to urge their children to see reasons for learning and to make the most of their years in school.

In spite of barriers, schools must give children access to economic, social, and ethical adjustment and development. In spite of barriers, schools must give children the means to achieve constructive goals. Detroit attempts to provide the special instruction and guidance at the time when it is needed, using every means to encourage each child to learn. This, we believe, is good education in practice.

* * *

The progress report which follows in abbreviated form gives some of the highlights of the first year of the project. Although much progress has been made, and results of the "first quarter" of this 4-year project encourage optimism, emphasis must of necessity be placed upon the plans of evaluation and activities fully initiated but not completed and hence not conclusive, rather than upon results secured.

Explanation and Listing of Newly Instituted Practices

Improvement of schooling depends to a great extent upon more effective teaching. Therefore we strive to modify the perception of the teachers of culturally deprived children as this perception relates to these children, their community, and their curriculum. We believe that teachers may initially perceive these three factors negatively, that is, in the light of their own experimental backgrounds. Thus, appropriate changes must occur to bring about more understanding and more objective reactions to the different backgrounds of the children and to the families and the neighborhoods from which they come. These important changes in the perception of teachers occur only as teachers are intimately involved in the processes of change which confront these children and their families day by day.

1. One means of altering teacher perception and increasing teacher effectiveness is the combination of inservice training and workshop experience.

a. A 1-week orientation workshop was held in the summer of 1960 for

approximately 100 key persons on the staffs of the seven schools. Approximately 100 agency and interested persons also attended.

b. Credit workshops, established through Wayne State University in two project schools during the school year 1960–61, enabled the staffs to examine their community and their children and carry on research activities related to classroom change. Those staff members wishing to be involved but not desiring credit had their tuition paid by the project.

c. During the summer of 1961, 45 of the personnel new to the project, that is, new teachers and transfers from other schools, were involved in a 2-day orientation workshop.

d. Six of the project schools held school workshops during the summer of 1961.

2. Organizational and curricular modifications have been made to provide teachers with more appropriate and diversified instructional settings.

a. Team teaching is being tried in three schools.

b. One school has had a nongraded primary unit in operation for 2 years.

c. Block-time programing has been initiated at the two junior high schools.

d. An afternoon cooperative nursery with about 75 participating mothers and children has been conducted for 1 year at the Couzens Elementary School.

e. Individualized reading is being experimented with at one school.

f. Small research projects are being explored by individual teachers; for example, staffs in an elementary school, a junior high school, and a senior high school have created and used experimentally tests on selected occupations.

3. A nominal increase has been made in the staffs of each school to assist teachers in the coordination of home-community, agency, and school resources, remedial teaching and clerical services.

a. Coaching teachers have enhanced the work of the regular teachers by their intensive diagnostic and developmental work. Approximately 350 children whose school progress was impeded by language arts or arithmetic disabilities were given extensive remedial instruction by these coaching teachers. These specialists often find that their first job is to develop confidence and motivation in children who have not learned, children to whom schoolwork of any kind has been synonymous with defeat and failure. They work not only with slow learners but also with pupils who are behind their age-group in achievement because previous schooling has been poor or has been avoided. In the area of remedial teaching, the coaching teacher is a kind of team leader, working with other teachers to share ideas and pool resources in solving a multitude of problems.

b. Visiting teachers working nearly fulltime in each school have been able to diagnose and refer emotionally disturbed children and their families to appropriate agencies and specialists for help. In many cases our visiting teachers find they must do much of the helping themselves, since they are often accepted as part of the family, and because, as one parent put it, "I can't talk about this to a stranger."

c. The school-community agents have provided the liaison between the community and the staff of the school. Further, they have utilized staff as volunteer and paid afterschool and evening instructors, as a part of their responsibility for the school-community program.

This year we have added a second school-community agent to the junior high schools and to the senior high school. The size of the school-community necessitated this addition.

One of the school-community agent's functions is to develop or revive neighborhood interest in the school. To this end he organizes school-oriented adult and youth activities, including classes and clubs after school and recreational activities such as the trip taken this summer by Eastern High School students to the Shakespeare Festival in Stratford, Ontario. The school-community agent is a solver of personal and neighborhood problems, impartial arbiter of school-family issues, a go-between, an open forum for neighborhood opinion.

d. Two half-time cooperative education clerks have been added to the secretarial staff of each school to assist the regular clerical staff and to assist the other additional personnel.

4. Teachers can be more effective if the materials with which they work are appropriate to the children they teach.

a. A workshop committee is working on the creation of a primary reading series based on the experimental background of our children. An initial failure resulted from our lack of sensitivity to the negative image that was created. We now have citizens' and teachers' advisory committees to help determine the appropriateness of the image we present. Three preprimers are nearly complete, and we have a tentative agreement with a publishing company for four-color production of these booklets and the accompanying materials.

b. Block-time units have been produced and are being implemented by teachers at Jefferson Junior High School.

c. Books, purchased on consignment, are sold at cost to children and parents. These are mostly pocket-size classics, fairy tales, nursery stories, and appropriate adventure and literature books.

d. Sums of $350 to $450 have been added to the school fund of each of the project schools. This enables teachers to purchase small items of supply and equipment not readily available through regular procurement channels.

5. Teachers in the project schools have been intensively involved in the summer activities of their schools. These activities included careful preparation of the summer school program; staff sessions devoted to preplanning; the selection of pupils according to individual need; and organization of summer classes which stressed flexibility of curriculum and emphasized enrichment and expansion as class goals rather than completion of remedial or makeup credit—although in nearly all cases the need for remedial study was fulfilled as a byproduct of enrollment in an enrichment-expansion kind of class.

a. A morning remedial and enrichment program, an afternoon recreation program, and provisions for cultural experiences were provided in two elementary schools during the summer of 1960, tuition-free, to 256 children. An additional 55 attended nursery classes in the two schools.

b. In the summer of 1961, all seven project schools had tuition-free summer remedial and enrichment activities. Approximately 350 youth were involved in the remedial programs at the secondary level. About 1,000 elementary children were enrolled in enrichment and remedial programs. Further, approximately 1,500 youth and adults were involved in summer classes, clubs and groups.

c. Three nursery programs were initiated during the summer sessions of 1961.

d. Three elementary school libraries were kept open for book circulation during the summer. One school library circulated 1,629 books during the 6-week period, and 2,094 children and adults visited the library to read or browse.

The success of a community-school venture depends in large measure on the concentrated use of available public and private agency personnel and resources:

1. A day camp in cooperation with the Neighborhood Service Organization and the Detroit Behavior Project was conducted at the Franklin Elementary School during the summer of 1961 for 55 emotionally disturbed children from the project schools.
2. We have used the YMCA and YWCA programs and facilities. In addition to utilization of YMCA buses and facilities, four YMCA groups, with teachers as volunteer leaders, meet in Couzens School.
3. We have shared facilities and personnel with the Detroit Parks and Recreation Department.
4. We have made cooperative use of the library facilities and bookmobiles in the area. Marcy School has a library caravan every other week. About 200 children are taken to the library by shuttle bus, and mothers act as assistant librarians.
5. An intensive investigation of the physical and nutritional needs of children is being initiated with the Detroit Department of Health and the Pilot Club of Detroit.
6. The Commission on Children and Youth is preparing a crime and delinquency study of the project area by census tracts.
7. Continuing contacts with local churches are an integral part of the school-community agent's function.
8. About 20 Michigan State University, Extension Service, Food Marketing classes were conducted in the project schools.

We hope to achieve mutual school-home-community reinforcement of pupil growth through extensive involvement of the total school community—parents, children, staff, and public and private agencies—in the activities of the school, so that each is better able to reinforce the education provided by the other. We believe that the school is perhaps the most logical facility in which the community should be involved. We further believe that, as parents are intimately and dynamically occupied in purposeful activities within the school building and in curriculum planning and development, their own aspirations and their aspirations for their children will be significantly modified. Such reinforcement of the work of the school should result in fuller development of the potential of both youth and adults.

1. Approximately 150 short- and long-term afterschool and evening classes and clubs for youth and adults were held in the project schools. These are exclusive of adult evening classes and are free to the participants. These classes were taught by paid teachers, by teachers who gave of their time, by lay persons in the community who were paid as teacher aides, and by volunteers from the whole Detroit community. There were about 50 lay adults in leadership roles in the seven schools.
   These classes and clubs range from enrichment and remedial classes for youth to adult groups in basic sewing and typing and beginning reading. We also have classes for families, study halls for youth, and adult classes in budgeting and food buying, as well as organizational group functions such as scouting, urban 4–H, recreation and a cooperative nursery program.

2. We used 37 high school and approximately 75 college students as assistants in classes and clubs, some from the universities and some who reside in the school area. During the summer of 1961, 68 high school and college students served the project.

3. Our school-community agents are working with existing block and council organizations and helping create new community groups.

4. Fourteen parents and six agency personnel were involved in the school workshops.

5. Approximately 400 additional bus trips to industry, business, and cultural centers have been provided for the 7 schools. In addition, many walking trips and trips by private car have been originated. These include the children in the schools, parents, and senior citizens of the community.

Projected Plans

As a result of one year's experience with the seven project schools and two years' with the three pilot project schools, the following plans were projected for the school year 1961–62.

Improvement of teaching

1. Follow-up on school workshop activities with provision for additional workshop experience during the year.

2. Increase in the communications between project staff and the schools and between schools. This increase is now made possible by the addition of a writer to the project staff.

3. Even more intensive yet appropriate emphasis upon reading at all grade levels with particular concentration in the early grades. This will be implemented by inservice training with skilled reading consultants, demonstration lessons, and the continued development of materials written in terms of the background of our children.

4. Emphasis on the freedom for school staffs to experiment, to create new and implement old ways of enhancing the climate for learning.

5. Exchange visits to other great cities so that school teams may share their experiences with other project staffs.

School-home-community reinforcement

1. Emphasis on the development of local leadership so that more youth and adults become independent citizens.

2. Discarding of those classes and clubs which did not prove effective and organization of short-range groups more in terms of the purposes of the local community.

3. Strengthening of the parent-teacher conference sessions which have already been held.

4. Continued expansion of the liaison already established between public and private agencies in the total community.

Evaluation

1. In August 1961 the project staff prepared a document entitled "A Plan for Evaluating Major Activities in Great Cities School Improvement Programs." Nine large areas of teaching-learning, school-community, and pupil-parent-teacher activities are considered in terms of specific (1) nature of each activity, (2) instruments or techniques to measure each activity, and (3) suggested treatment of data accruing from such measurement. Among the broad categories which are included in a close evaluative scrutiny are pupil achievement, attitude change, behavioral changes, evaluation of teaching materials and techniques, school community relations, and school health. An attempt was made to determine the degrees of impact on the project made by these activities.

2. Serious and concentrated attention is being given to the guidance and counseling activities at all three school levels—elementary, junior high, and senior high. New types of guidance and counseling instruments are being introduced. At grades 3 to 7, selected teachers are being introduced to the *Personal and Social Development Program*, developed by John C. Flanagan and based on the critical-incident technique of observation and evaluation. A pilot project conducted approximately a year and a half ago at Eastern High School indicated various values in the instrument entitled *Your Educational Plans* (YEP). This year the YEP is being administered to all students in grade 10B at Eastern. Both of these guidance devices hold high promise of using counselors' time more effectively and, in fact, making guidance and counseling a more realistic function of classroom teachers.

3. Modifications in class room courses in selected schools are also under way, again to bring guidance and counseling closer to the day-to-day teacher and pupil relationship. A course which is directly related to guidance and counseling is being planned at present by three classroom teachers, one each from two junior high schools and one elementary school. The course content deals with developing pupils' abilities and skills regarding "various and best alternative ways of thinking and acting in social, school, or work situations." Actually, the course will try to create within pupils a flexibility of positive action based on greater insight of "self" and greater appreciation of how to relate effectively to

other people. This course could well be taught instead of or as part of the home and family living course or as part of health courses having emphasis on mental hygiene.

4. Another pilot activity being planned is the systematic, weekly involvement of parents in small group settings for the purpose of teaching them how they might best reinforce the teachers in having students more consistently attain the teaching-learning goals of the school. The purpose of such group sessions would include demonstrating to parents techniques and methods of encouraging their children to do better schoolwork, while at the same time avoiding pressuring their children to a degree that negative outcomes might result. In essence, parents will be shown how best to utilize a balanced set of "encouraging and supportive" skills with their children. Expected outcomes include increased academic achievement for students and better mental health for both students and parents.

5. With direct application to learning-teaching activities, the roles of the coaching teachers and the visiting teachers continue to be reexamined in terms of how they can give optimum service to children in each school. The insights gained by these special teachers as they work with individuals and with small groups may well be among the most valuable gains of this project. The opportunty provided us in this program to redefine roles and functions as they are taking shape enables us to capitalize on the "now" of any given problem and to reduce such problems in an expeditious manner. While helping us to reappraise and evaluate learning-teaching processes, coaching and visiting teachers also are asking for evaluations of their own work.

6. We plan to continue to use two types of control schools:

Control Type A: These four schools (two elementary, a junior high, and a senior high school) are in generally the same geographic area of the city as the experimental schools. The achievement and ability levels of the pupils are quite similar to those of pupils in the experimental schools.

Control Type B: In this group there are five schools (three elementary, one junior high, and one senior high school) and these are located in different geographic parts of Detroit from the project schools. As measured by Detroit citywide testing programs, the achievement and ability scores of the pupils in these schools consistently reflect higher levels of attainment.

In addition to comparing pupils in project schools to pupils in Control Types A and B schools, we also intend to follow project-school children and measure their individual growth in ability and achievement areas over the next three years. Pupils who were 4B's in November 1960, for example, will be 6B's in November 1962. As we tested project school pupils with the Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test in 1960, a retesting of them every other year (4B, 6B, 8B, and 10B) should give us evidence of ability and achievement changes. We also plan to follow children who attend our summer schools to attempt to determine if this type of summer school effects improvement over a full school year of pupil-work. The overall pattern of this project, then, in terms of evaluation will include two methods of looking at results:

Comparison of growth in one selected characteristic between control group and project group.

Examination of certain aspects of growth among selected groups of pupils at different periods.

Some Guidelines to Desirable Elementary School Reorganization

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SOME OF THE experimental projects and research which Bank Street College has recently been conducting will be briefly described here, because they seem particularly pertinent to the topic before this conference and because they may suggest various lines of new action and thought.

Although Bank Street, from its inception in 1916 as the Bureau of Educational Experiments, has been conducting multiple-discipline research in the area of schools and learning for children up to adolescence, it has in the past 5 years been working particularly on the question of how the elementary schools in New York City, and presumably in other large urban centers, can raise the learning level of the children of lower social class families, especially those of minority groups.

Since 1943, Bank Street has worked cooperatively with the Board of Education of New York to improve a number of elementary schools, many located in crowded, low socioeconomic neighborhoods in the city. In 1957 the superintendent of schools invited Bank Street to try to help a cluster of three integrated elementary schools to strengthen their programs in various ways so as to (1) check the drift away from these schools of white middle-class families; (2) attract to the nearby middle-income housing development then under construction middle-class families with children who would, hopefully, enroll their children in these public schools.

The field action team for this project consisted of a sociologist, a social psychologist, and an educator working fulltime, as well as four classroom consultants who worked in these three schools part-time. These teacher consultants were public school teachers, selected by Bank Street and then assigned by the superintendent to this particular project. They worked directly with classroom teachers in the three schools to help them strengthen their classroom programs. The other Bank Street team members worked with the principals, the district superintendent, the parents, and certain community agencies. Other aspects of the project included a writing workshop for teachers who wished to prepare materials meaningful to their pupils; a preliminary sociological study of a school and the school system; seminars for the 30 principals in that school district; and the beginning of the Parent-Teacher Communication Project.

The most important outcome of this project for Bank Street was the development of our hypothesis as to the cause of low achievement in schools of this kind and a general conclusion about what needs to be done to correct the situation.

Our hypothesis is that the chief cause of the low achievement of the children of alienated groups is the fact that too many teachers and principals honestly believe that these children are educable only to an extremely limited extent. And when teachers have a low expectation level for their children's learning, the children seldom exceed that expectation, which is a self-fulfilling prophecy. A logical concomitant to this hypothesis is the conclusion that the problems of these schools will not be solved simply through "more services" or "changing family backgrounds" but through a functional, and probably structural, reorganization of the schools themselves.

The following areas should be scrutinized for needed reorganization:

1. The child, his teacher, and the teaching-learning program

An effective way to start would be for a school to take a hard look at everything it does and every aspect of the curriculum. It cannot do this productively without looking at the children and asking the question: "What are the interests and needs, the motivational forces for learning, the learn-pattern with which these children come to school?" Is it not possible that these children have resources for the educational program which do not depend upon books, or the arts, or intellectual conversation in the home? May it not be that these children have a deep foundation for educational growth in their day-to-day social experience in urban life? And how can the school, without relinquishing its long-range goals, change its approach so as to take advantage of the true educational potential of these children?

A few of the projects which Bank Street is engaged in at this moment seem particularly relevant to this first area of reorganization:

Multiculture "readers" project.—One specific way in which schools have unconsciously augmented feelings of alienation is by introducing children to the world of reading and books through readers which hold up as an exclusive model the culture pattern of the white middle-class suburban family. The child knows in his heart that the school gives the highest prestige value to books, and yet everything that is familiar to him is excluded from the image of life presented in the books which the school provides. Consequently, Bank Street has a team of writers working to produce readers which will use stories and illustrations to reflect back to children the positive aspects of the variety of community and cultural settings which constitute American society. These will not be books written specifically for minority or low-income groups, but will be books for and about all children. Important, too, is the fact that these books will be published by one of the well-established textbook publishers who have previously been afraid of economic repercussions from the production of books like these. This should help to break down some of the stereotypes which have characterized all instructional materials published for our schools.

School entry study.—This is a research project studying the relationships among such factors as home background, method of entry into kindergarten, the type of kindergarten program, and apparent success of adjustment to the school world on the part of the child. Both middle and lower social class children are involved, and the public school kindergartens which served as locations are very different in character. From this study should come helpful hints for curriculum changes at the kindergarten level.

Classroom processes study.—In four public schools offering contrasts in racial and socioeconomic settings, the classroom life of four second grades and four fifth grades has been examined to clarify mental health implications for children. The report from this study is expected early in 1963 and should reveal possibilities for beneficial changes in school practices. It will also probably provide a new procedure by which schools can analyze a classroom in terms of its learning climate.

2. The school's role vis-a-vis parents and community

This is the second area for reorganization. Because Bank Street feels that the school's first job is to cast out the mote from its own educational eye instead of concentrating upon the eye of family background, it does not follow that the school should not do everything possible to help parents help their children learn in school. Neither does it follow that the school can think of itself as a community agency operating in isolation from all other community agencies. Each school operating in a deprived neighborhood needs to work cooperatively with all of the agencies in that neighborhood. Further, certain schools will need to take on some of the responsibilities which usually are thought of as belonging to social agencies and not the school. One elementary school in Philadelphia, for example, has won the cooperation of police and milkmen to the extent that the school learns early in the morning of any child who has been locked out of his home for the night. Such a child is greeted by the principal, given a hot shower and breakfast, and put to bed for several hours. This may seem a far cry from the usual role of the school, but children of this type in this particular school had proved to be drastic disrupting forces and obviously learned nothing during the schoolday.

All persons speaking at this conference have reported somewhat the same findings that Bank Street has gained: namely, that nearly all parents, even those who are severely alienated or defeated, look upon the school as the one source of hope that their children will have better lives than they have had. Nevertheless, the problem of how the school can help parents help their children in school is not an easy one to solve.

Even though these parents look to the school with hope, many of them are fearful and confused in relation to the school. Furthermore, the school has difficulty in communicating with these parents. Sometimes there is an actual language barrier, but more often the chief barrier is stereotyped thinking on the part of both teachers and parents. There is also the communications barrier which separates different social classes. One mother, speaking of a previous Parents Association meeting, said, "In that there meeting the principal and all the teachers called us dopes—poor slobs that don't know what our kids are getting from school." To which the principal immediately countered, "Why, Mrs. ———, you know very well that no one said anything of the kind in that meeting," and the mother in question replied, "Maybe you didn't say it, but that's what the atmosphere said." However correct or incorrect this parent was in her perception, it is clear that communication between her and the professional staff would be difficult. Two of Bank Street's present projects may be of interest here.

The Teacher-Parent Communication Study.—In this project a Bank Street team consisting of a social psychologist and an educator has been working with a school in a depressed area to try to improve the communication between school and parents. In the first phase of the project, most of the kindergarten and first-grade teachers, faced with the necessity for holding periodic conferences with their pupils' parents, worked with the Bank Street team to try to understand the obstacles to effective communication. They evaluated all contacts between the school and parents (a copy of their report is available from Bank Street on request), and the Bank Street team attempted to affect the attitude of the teachers by broadening their cross-cultural understandings. In the second phase of the program, which is now in progress, the attention of the Bank Street team was turned more to the total school situation. Depth interviews have been held with 44 parents. An effort has been made to study the implications of pupil turnover and all the subtle and overt ways in which the school deals with parents.

The plan for the coming year will also include experimentation with a research educator and licensed teacher in the role of assistant to the principal in improving the communications between the school and the parents of the school's children.

Study of a parent's association in relation to the total system of a school.—In one of the projects located in a school within a low socioeconomic neighborhood, the attempt is to facilitate change by working with classroom teachers, the principal, and the parents. A research educator with much experience in schools has been assigned to work with the very active Parents Association. The leadership of the association, mostly Negro, is troubled, as is the school principal, about the fact that only a small proportion of the parents participate in the activities of the association. The researcher has assisted the parent committee and, having won its confidence, is now interviewing other parents to ascertain their attitudes toward the school and the Parents Association. In 1962–63 the researcher's findings will be reported in appropriate ways to the parent leadership and the principal as the basis for new practices. One of the purposes of the total project is, of course, to devise better ways for the school to stimulate the kind of participation which gives positive support to the learning of the children in school.

3. The internal organization of the school as an entity and as a part of a system

The third area calls for scrutiny. The school in its effort to educate the "disadvantaged" must begin to study itself as a social system. An individual school is a small culture in and of itself; as such, it may operate in certain ways which prevent many of its pupils from realizing their true learning potential. Here is one very practical example: Many schools unconsciously seem to put out an "unwelcome mat" to parents. A parent who comes to one of these schools enters the school office and is faced with a long counter, behind which are three or four secretaries. No one is set up as a receptionist. No names are in evidence. The parent may stand for a long time, shifting from foot to foot, before anyone comes to inquire as to his or her mission, let alone to extend a welcoming hand and smile. Yet the secretaries in question are friendly, warm people, devoted to the school and their work. What has happened is that somehow, subtly, there has been built into the system of the school a deep impersonality in terms of relationships between the school and the parents. Another example, much more serious perhaps, is the condition which exists in most school systems by which each lower rung on the bureaucratic ladder is led to believe that its purpose is to serve the rung immediately above. Somehow, down at the very foot of the ladder is the child in the classroom.

Of help in facing this entire problem should be the sociological studies which have been in process at Bank Street. A number of mental hospitals and one large industry have been studied as social systems, but the American school apparently has not. At the moment Bank Street's chief sociologist, Dr. Donald Horton, and his associates are conducting such a study. The study was begun in some of the schools of New York City but is now being carried out in the town of Brookview in a neighboring State. One particular school in the system is being studied while at the same time the entire school system in a community of 30,000 population is being examined as a whole. The reports on these studies should be published by 1965.

Equally important to knowing what changes should take place within our schools is knowing how change can be brought about in the schools and particularly in the school systems of our large cities. We are all familiar with many of the ways in which educators have traditionally worked to bring about change. Among these methods are inservice courses, the study of children and children's behavior by small groups of teachers, conferences and workshops, assistance to teachers, demonstration schools and classes, bulletins of curriculum bureaus, dicta issued by the superintendent, and so forth. A recent report done for the Commissioner of Education in New York State takes the position that change can be brought about in a school system only if those in high authority require the change and if they simultaneously provide teachers with demonstration units which offer proof that all of the teachers can do what the demonstration unit is doing. This is not a new approach to the process of change in education, even though the author of this particular report would have the goals for change established through research. The prevailing method being used in the programs attempting to upgrade schools in the economically depressed neighborhoods of our big cities is to saturate these schools with all kinds of "special services." It remains to be seen whether the chief change which will result will be upgrading of children's learning or the elimination of the responsibility of the classroom teacher for the learning of each pupil.

The truth is that the process of change in our large school systems is baffling. This process is one which Bank Street is studying intensively. Our hypothesis is that the most productive kind of change process is that which involves intervention at many points in the social system called a school. This calls for actual experimentation. In the school mentioned above in relation to our study of the Parents Association, Bank Street is quite obviously attempting "to intervene," as the researchers say, at all levels of this particular school. Principals in schools like these who wish to bring about change are often baffled by what seems to them to be teacher indifference, if not opposition. The teachers, on the other hand, frequently feel that the principal is interested in his pet projects but does not pay attention to the changes which they, usually as individual, wish. The parents, or at least the active parents, finally feel obligated to participate in the school but usually do not know why they are participating, and unless they are middle-class parents, for whom having an organization in itself is a satisfying aim, they do not know how to proceed vis-a-vis the principal and the teachers. In a school such as this it is quite apparent that the traditional procedures for attempting to bring about change or to introduce innovations may not be effective. The Bank Street effort to work for change in all phases of the school simultaneously, therefore, may well open up productive new approaches to the problem.

The entire project team meets regularly at Bank Street College with the principal of the school. By the end of the first year the principal has begun to involve more and more teachers. An increasing number of parents are thinking about why they should participate in the school. Also, the principal has seemed increasingly receptive to parent action; rather than regarding it as obstructive, he has come to see it as an opportunity for the school to educate parents about their supportive role. It is not yet certain whether the teachers by and large have begun to lose the suspicion which they seemed to feel at the beginning of the project. (In many of our other efforts to bring about change in schools, work has been done only with teachers who volunteer for the project. It is made very clear to teachers and principal that only those things will be reported about any teacher which the teacher herself decides shall be reported.)

A mimeographed report on the first year of this project was released in September 1962. By September 1963, a more complete report of the 2-year project should be available, which will contain much helpful information and many valuable implications for all educators.

A Program To Raise the Standard of School Achievement

SAMUEL SHEPARD, JR.
St. Louis Public Schools
St. Louis, Missouri

I AM ONE of five directors of elementary education in the city of St. Louis. My district is a slum area, characterized by hopelessness and apathy. The area is undergoing redevelopment and, as a result, some familes are being moved out. In several instances whole neighborhoods, including the school, have been evacuated. Otherwise, the population has been rather stable. Approximately 15,000 youngsters in the district go to 23 elementary schools, from kindergarten through grade 8. Racially, 95 percent of the pupils and 90 percent of the principals and teachers are Negro.

In the school year 1957–58, the high school, which our district children enter in the ninth grade, divided the entering ninth-grade class into three tracks on the basis of the *Iowa Test of Basic Skills.* Nearly half of the children from our district fell into the lowest track and only 7 percent qualified for the first track. We recognized that this division reflected deprivation rather than inferior ability. We wanted to find out what leader and staff determination could do to challenge the ability of our students and to bring about better scholastic achievement.

We knew that parental attitudes and home conditions had much to do with the poor progress of the children. Attendance at school was not as good as it might be, and study conditions at home were not conducive to achievement. We knew that unless parents joined us in our efforts, gains would be hard to make and even harder to maintain after the novelty of the first few months went by. After examining the problem with the central office personnel and other interested district leaders, we embarked on a plan aimed at improvement of school achievement.

We made charts to show the scores that children from the Banneker District had made in reading, language, and arithmetic, and the relative place of these scores among those made by all entering ninth-graders. In short, we intended to make it graphic to the parents and teachers of the district that their children were more than a year below grade level, and that this accounted for their being assigned to track III. We hoped, then, to inspire the children to "come up out of their seats" and do better.

We began by meeting and examining the situation with the school principals. We presented the graphs; each saw where his school and his children stood. We asked them to encourage in their teachers more positive attitudes toward children and their chances for success. The principals were asked to have teachers visit the homes in order to secure better understanding of children and to establish better working relationships with parents. This caused consternation. All of us have read about the increasing crime rate, and we know some of the fears which troubled these principals. The territory around each school was charted and police protection was requested for the blocks to be visited on given days. After one visit, it became evident that this was unnecessary; parents were at home and welcomed the teachers.

We met with the children in grades 7 and 8, although we knew that the entire range from kindergarten to grade 8 had to be affected as soon as possible. Children in grades 7 and 8 in 1957–58 were urged to attend and bring their parents to an evening school meeting. No child would be admitted without a parent or someone who stood in that relationship to the child. The director carried on these meetings in every school in the district. To the children and their parents we presented and interpreted the charts, and we appealed to personal pride, asking for cooperation of pupils and parents.

We attempted to convince them that the lag could not be overcome unless their children came to school every day and worked harder when they got there than they had ever done, but that this alone would not win the battle. Homework was necessary, and homework would be assigned. The parents must, it was explained, make it possible for children to do their homework, and must see that they complete it. A place with good lighting must be provided, interruptions eliminated, and television and telephone forbidden until completion of assignments. The teacher would provide notebooks for assignments, teachers would make assignments, but parents must see that their children brought the notebooks home and followed through on the assignments.

We helped parents and children to see that education was their hope. In the future, we said, positions would be more and more available to Negroes. We tried to impress upon parents that, "Success in school is your child's most important business."

We emphasized to the parents that the child should—

Know what the assignment is.

Have the best place in the home to study, a place free from distractions. (The use of television and telephones should be forbidden during study time.)

Plan the study period—know how the study period is to be used.

Have all the materials on hand to do a good job—pencils, notebooks, dictionary, eraser—in order to avoid delay.

Learn to stay on the job and concentrate on the task at hand.

Develop the practice of having a full understanding of what has been done; and seek understanding if it is not gained during the home study period.

To the parents a pledge was presented, not for their signatures, but to remind them of the part they were to play:

To: Parents of pupils, grades 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

We, in the Banneker District—teachers, general consultants, principals, and the director—have been working very hard to help your child do his best in school. We have had some success. But, we want you to know that our best effort will not be good enough if we do not have your full support and cooperation. We realize, as we know you do, that if your child is to prepare himself for a good position in the future, he must do his best job in school every day. We feel sure that you will want to do all you can to make certain that your child achieves as much as he can in all school subjects, especially in reading, arithmetic, and language. May we remind you, as parents, that our motto is *Success in School Is My Child's Most Important Business.*

Below is a *Parent's Pledge of Cooperation.* Please read it very carefully and let it serve as a constant reminder and guide.

With kindest regards,

[Signature of principal] [Signature of director of elementary education]
BANNEKER SCHOOL

* * *

PARENT'S PLEDGE OF COOPERATION

I. I pledge that I will do my level best to help my child put forth his best effort to study and achieve in school.

1. I will make sure my child attends school every day on time and with sufficient rest to be able to do a good job.
2. I will provide my child with a dictionary and, as far as I am able, a quiet, well-lighted place to study.
3. I will insist that my child spend some time studying at home each day.
4. I will visit my child's teacher at least once during each semester.
5. I will discuss my child's report card with him. I will compare my child's grade level with his level of achievement.
6. I will join the PTA and attend meetings as often as I can.

II. I recognize the fact that skill in reading is the key to success in school achievement. Therefore:

1. I will provide my child with a library card and insist that he use it regularly.

2. I will give him suitable books frequently (birthdays, holidays, and other special occasions).
3. I will give him a subscription to one of the weekly school newspapers or magazines (*My Weekly Reader*, *Jr. Scholastic*, etc.)

III. I pledge to do my best to impress upon my child the fact that success in school is his most important business.

Teachers were asked to ignore IQ scores because of their unreliability with children who do not read well, and to treat all children as if they had superior ability. They were encouraged to secure and maintain as high standards as possible with every child.

Field trips were introduced for the express purpose of giving students an opportunity to see Negroes at work in skilled occupations and professions. When the superintendent of a hospital was interviewed, for instance, he said there were 83 different occupations in the hospital. We selected 10 or 12 of these and took our seventh graders to observe on a regular basis. The purpose was (1) to let these youngsters see people actually using the skills which they were now learning in school; and (2) to have them build the image of a Negro at work in these occupations. So for the first time many of these youngsters saw a Negro reading an X-ray film or working as a professional—putting into practice some of the kinds of skills learned in the regular classroom. We created a "Mister Achiever," a mythical person to broadcast over our school radio weekly, giving hints and suggestions on how to be successful in school. We created and came up with a motto for the youngsters, "Success in school is my most important business."

What has been the result? Parents flocked to the meetings, 400 to 500 strong, to listen to our reports on education and their children's progress.

The initial pledge of cooperation has been followed by a mimeographed sheet called *Hints for Helpful Parents*. This sheet was built upon the pledge, but was more detailed. It, too, emphasized attendance, an attitude of desiring to learn, and it suggested ways to help children form good independent study habits. It stated that the child should have a time and place to sit down with his assignment and dictionary, his references, and his materials, and work out the assignment. While no one can know everything, if he has the habits that enable him to work out his assignments, he will do well in secondary school and college or wherever he goes. In addition, parents were asked to be faithful about signing the assignment notebooks to show that the child had followed through on the assignments.

Attendance in one school last year reached an unprecedented 97.1 percent. Median scores in reading for eighth graders have gone from 7.7 in January 1958 to 8.8 in June 1961; language from 7.6 to 9.1; and arithmetic from 7.9 to 8.7. In the same period children assigned to Track I in the beginning ninth-grade group increased from 7 percent to 22 percent; in Track II, from 45.9 percent to 54.8 percent; while the number placed in Track III fell from 47.1 percent to 10.9 percent.

A foundation became interested and sponsored a summer school in remedial reading and spelling. This was during the summer of 1960

Best of all, the entire community is now interested in its children This effort of schools and community to work together to raise the level of achievement in children has served as leaven to boost the spirit of all concerned. With hard work and persistence, we shall not let this effort disintegrate again into one characterized by apathy.

The Harry E. Wood School Program

RICHARD C. EMERY
Principal, Harry E. Wood School
Indianapolis, Indiana

IN THE EARLY 1950's the central administration of the Indianapolis public schools considered an interesting question. What kind of school could be developed that would answer some of the major problems in education: (1) The dropout problem, (2) The slow learner, and (3) Vocational education and its relation to the employment of the school-age child and the high school graduate.

The general superintendent caused a long-range study group to be formed. With the assistance of supervisors and interested civic persons, plans slowly emerged for a new concept of a school.

Several essentially mechanical factors played into the hands of the planning group. A new Manual Training High School was built and in addition a huge old building, part of which was constructed in the 1890's, became available. Another factor was the booming school population which made necessary a new and immediate facility for schooling Indianapolis children.

The deserted school, the second oldest in active service in the city, was in an old and submarginal section of Indianapolis. It was part of a drab, decaying neighborhood. But children and youth lived here, and the old school was renovated and restored to house the present Harry E. Wood High School. The school, said the planners, would be a comprehensive high school, with a program so complete that it could offer technical aid and service to any youngster coming through its portals. Once a symbol of decay, this school is now a source of pride. It is "our school" to young and old in this community, a place of warmth, stability, and security.

The primary philosophical tenet is a simple one: an inherent belief in the dignity, worth, and inviolate personality of each individual. This in essence is the American creed. It imposes an American educational corollary: the problems, concerns, and attitudes of each and every youth become the problems and concerns of free public education, and should shape the attitudes of all educators, whose primary responsibility is to help each youth find his true developmental goal and the path to it.

The educational philosophy of this school recognizes the inviolate character of the individual. It also recognizes that in the world outside school, the person is judged by his ability to function in a group. These two principles gave rise to concepts which guided the administrative staff in its initial work. These concepts are:

1. The individual, when confronted with the necessity for a decision, chooses or selects the alternative which he thinks is right for him at that time. His decision is colored by his peculiar assessment of his experiences and factors in the immediate situation.
    a. Antisocial, delinquent, and unacceptable acts are often natural products of a tenuous adherence to skewed values and are not necessarily evidences of personality disintegration or emotional immobilization. Often the apparent inability of an individual to construct goals adequately rests in indecisive, skewed, or abortive value patterns.
    b. People change and, through the combination of good guidance and the right person, they can be helped to change for the better.
    c. Throughout the ages man has conducted a ceaseless quest for the ideal. It may be termed the God-quest or search for the rationale of life and living. It is a compulsive drive for understanding and for an authority structure in which man can operate satisfactorily. Until sufficient maturation has been achieved by a youth to deal successfully with intangible and abstract concepts such as deity, he demands secure adult human mooring.

In the beginning the administrative staff moved to set up an educational program that would be consistent with its pupil-help concepts. The school was classed originally as an Experimental High School by the Indiana State Department of Education and at that time was expressly commissioned to give emphasis and assistance to problem children. Preventive and curative measures for combating delinquency became a basic part of the Wood High School educational fabric.

A survey of the school neighborhood was initiated to gain understanding of our community's particular needs. If we were to understand our pupils, we had to understand their backgrounds. A tally of the conditions unearthed in the survey confirmed many needs for help, produced by squalid conditions, economic pinch, and the transience of many families in the neighborhood.

Wood High School planned to accent acceptance for all boys and girls. It began with the selection of staff. The routine checking of certification of teacher candidates was supplemented by interviews to assure that the candidate had a genuine affection for youth. During these interviews the principal outlined the backgrounds of many of the district's youth and traced the need to extend warmth and psychological security to all. The administrator attempted to offer through gesture, word, and promise, similar security for each staff member.

The Wood School introduced the open-door policy, from the principal's office to every classroom. Any boy or girl, the policy says, any teacher or any person may go to the principal's office, any office, or any classroom at any time if he feels the need for help or counsel. Appointments need not be scheduled, although secretaries will schedule them if a client so desires. In exercising this right, pupils and adults have developed a concern for propriety and the needs of others. This method alone has been successful in capturing that feeling of worth and belongingness for each person.

The open-door policy extends to enrollment procedures. Any person, regardless of origin, race, creed, or religious background may enroll in this school, as long as he qualifies in age, address, and grade placement.

A policy of both firmness and flexibility was initiated and has matured in the school's discipline program. There is no hesitation on the part of the staff to change, alter, or amend a pupil's program at any time throughout the school year, if such a move promises better pupil adjustment. It is our practice to shuffle the school's facilities again and again until a subject-success climate is found for a particular youth with his particular problems. This may even call for scrapping some of the school's internal facilities and tapping out-of-class resources to effect a realistic help program for a pupil. This we readily do. While excellent pupil personnel services, including those of a trained psychologist, are available within the school organization, much of the school's work is accomplished in cooperation with outside agencies and with business and industry.

The needs of the pupil, as we find them, influence and guide the work of the staff. The physical organization of Wood High School was planned to meet some of our youths' general needs, as revealed in an appraisal of the initial community survey. Because of what this survey showed, seven complete hand-picked service occupational courses were developed cooperatively with local businesses. They constitute a separate division of the school. Most of our pupils are realistic in their work concepts, for their home lives have been replete with paycheck push-and-pull tensions. As a consequence, the school has a backlog of enrollment applications for training in this division. Approximately 250 out of a total school enrollment of 2,100 pupils are scheduled in occupational courses.

A thesis could be written on the pupil adjustment and therapy opportunities that inhere in our occupational courses. Here lie resources to give a young person that tangible feel of sucecss, accomplishment, and learning growth which are vital to his well-being. Such courses as auto body repair, barbering, beauty culture, cleaning and pressing, commercial foods, dental assisting, and shoe repair are meaningful to our pupils because they understand how these services are tied to everyday living needs. All of these courses are positive influences in improving this community's grooming, its health, and other aspects of its standard of living.

Approximately 1,500 pupils are enrolled in the regular high school division. We believe that the socioeconomic factors in the lives of these children and the personal-community-national and international push-and-pull tensions which characterize the world demand proficient and thorough academic training if we are to have competent citizens. The only security the school can offer the individual in today's shifting, changing social, economic, and political scene is in helping the individual to develop a feeling of competence to cope successfully with change. So our task is to assist the pupils in this division to plan programs commensurate with their varying abilities and to provide courses and programs which, through their depth, breadth, intensity, and effective presentation, will challenge them.

The needs of the exceptional child prompted our organization of the third division of this school. Good and poor learning potential are not class-structured. The mentally gifted and the retarded, or slow learners, are found among our children, too. Teaching the mentally gifted requires the ability to inspire exploration and research, both by individuals and by groups. One must stimulate the creativity that springs naturally from these pupils.

In the slow sections the staff is alert to causal factors which inhibit school progress. When scholastic retardation has resulted from physiological conditions, efforts are made to find some skill which is employable and to build on the strength that is found. Our occupational courses have been broken down for this purpose into single skills or operations. We took our cue from industry in this instance. The difference is that whereas industry employs an occupational breakdown to simplify its need for employees, we broke down the occupations to meet industry's need for future employees.

Some pupils are scholastically retarded because of emotional problems and involvements which are manifested in learning-blocks. These pupils are kept under close observation for adjustment progress. Psychological aid and remedial training, even formal remedial courses, are brought to bear in an attempt to help these pupils find themselves. Job training and job placement have been excellent therapy tools for assisting many of these youth.

Normally 350 to 400 of our total school population of 2,100 pupils are mentally retarded youth with IQ's between 50 and 79 on individual psychological tests. These pupils are usually assigned to Wood as seventh graders, age 13. An attempt is made with these as well as all other youth to tune the pupil's program closely to his academic and psychological responses to expert teaching. For this reason we avoid naming this group. Any name given them would connote a stigma to these youth in their own eyes; this is one way in which the school attempts to build status for the mentally retarded learner. Remedial instruction is also provided for scholastically retarded learners assigned to the regular academic school division.

The slow seventh graders and, for that matter, the slow learners of any grade are assigned to classes whose members have achieved approximately the same achievement level in that particular subject. Grouping is determined by testing and by demonstrated classroom performance. Whenever one of our retarded pupils demonstrates special abilities in any particular subject area, he crosses over to a "slow" class in that subject in the regular division. For example, a math class in adapted materials, or retarded learner division, might have among its students, pupils from the regular academic school division, slow learners, and a mentally retarded learner or two. The pupils from the regular section focus on remedial instruction in math, the slow learners on developmental math, and the retarded pupil may benefit by some of both. Out of a total of 106 mentally retarded youth in the high school, 50 are attending English classes in the slow groups.

The regular academic division operates a three-track learning program, namely slow, regular, and "G" or accelerated. Additional pupils assigned in the regular high school are 18 accelerated in math, 12 in general science, 9 in history, 4 in business education, 14 in home economics, 25 in industrial arts, 3 in music, and 12 in art.

All retarded learners are routed at the outset through the industrial arts shops, home economics laboratories, and music and art classes in a quest for that niche wherein they may perform adequately. At this time, in order to promote the development of feelings of personal adequacy and to enhance the growth of personal worth, these exploratory groups include none but slow learners.

We also probe with them in exploratory or trial vocational and business education assignments to find the best avenue for occupational training. We can lean heavily upon this personalized guidance because of its intangible payoff. There is something contagious about concern for a pupil's welfare, and there is something beautiful and equally contagious when the pupil finds himself a success, possibly for the first time.

When placement in a specific occupational educational course is agreed upon, the slow learner enters into a training program similar to the one prescribed for any learner. He spends from one-half to a full day learning his trade or that segment of the total trade he can handle. If he is able, he may continue in his academic studies and receive credit there, too.

The value of a high school education is emphasized, but vocational competency is given primacy for educationally retarded pupils. For these individuals, we must recognize the role of wage earning in their struggle to become contributing citizens.

Our unique terminal occupational training division, sponsored by industry and business in cooperation with the Indianapolis Public Schools, contributes to the learning and the training of the slow learners for competence in an employable skill. Among the seven occupational trade courses offered, four lend themselves to the training of the slow learners remarkably well. These are the shoe repair division that currently enrolls 15 students, the commercial foods division that trains 21, the cleaning and pressing division that instructs 19, and the auto body repair division that trains 4.

There is an advisory committee for each of our occupational courses, composed of men from that area of business life. One of their important assignments beyond planning, curricula writing, and helping supply equipment (beyond a generous school board's budget) is to assist the employment director in placing these well-trained and adjusted youth on an actual daily wage-paying job.

Wood has carefully planned its occupational terminal training to avoid those areas of employment which automation may threaten. Each area has been broken down into its basic component parts of instruction, so that the administration may take advantage of this fact to train each youth. For example, it may take an able youth to rework and paint, with great skill, a wrecked car. However, a retarded youth can become an expert wash-rack operator and polisher. Likewise, in the commercial foods area, a slow-learning pupil can become an expert dishwasher or electric dishwasher operator.

Each vocational area has a program planned to provide each pupil with salable skills. This does not mean that all pupils training in a single area are expected to be employed in that specific area. It does mean that the pupil will begin to develop work skills and understandings needed to hold a job and to live with his fellow man.

Among the many school-retarded youngsters we have trained and successfully placed are mailroom clerks, pressers, a nurse's aide, a switchboard operator, an electrician apprentice, filling station helpers, fountain boys, dishwashers, waitresses, delivery boys, and a film repair boy. One of these youngsters has become an owner of a shoe repair shop.

Translation of the immediate and forseeable needs of our pupils into work experiences forced us to go to the community to provide work and income opportunities for our employable youth. Two programs have resulted. One, a formal program approved by the State Board of Education, is limited to certain approved work areas. Occupations that have gained approval in this program require training and study that can be profitably offered to ongoing high school pupils. About 40 Wood pupils are enrolled at present in this work experience program. A feature which makes pupil participation in "approved" work experienced doubly attractive is that success in the work area earns pay while simultaneously earning credit toward high school graduation.

The other, an informal work experience program (Wood has its own placement bureau), functions when the immediacy of the job and money is paramount. Approximately 250 pupils are now profiting from this pay-as-you-learn plan. Work assignments under this plan are used not only to ameliorate hardship, but also as tools with which emotional attitudes may be improved and other necessary pupil adjustments facilitated.

Within the Wood framework everything that has been discussed is incorporated in our discipline concept. This is in line with our belief that all efforts here must be bent toward helping each pupil assume the responsibilities of good citizenship. This concept favors treatment of the youth who has been, still is, or has just become delinquent. It extends from the lad who is failing in his course work to the parolee who has just returned. A guiding principle permeates our work with problem pupils. We will accept these youth in their natural right as people; we will try to understand the causal factors and their motivating influences; but we will not tolerate unacceptable behavior and actions. We will strive to build a bridge of acceptance and understanding between us and cement it with personalized concern.

But again, we believe in firmness and flexibility. We believe this firm and staunch adherence to certain standards does not preclude genuine understanding of others and their rationale, nor our recognition of the slow growth by which standards and goals are achieved. It does preclude our use of these standards as an unfair measuring instrument to justify hard judgments. It does point out the need for teachers to walk with disturbed youth hand-in-hand to the place where the youth may travel alone in the security that acceptable values and performance in group ways may bring them. In this approach, getting down to the offenders' level is avoided. You cannot fool youth; adult duplicity or ingratiating behavior would be transparent to them and would only serve to degrade the adult figure.

We have no panacea or magic adjustment pill for problem youth at Wood. We have no one technique to recommend, though we use all techniques and attempt to improve them. But if the personality structure is unique, we must recognize that the antidote for an individual's ailment must be in terms of that unique individual and his unique problem. Perhaps we walk in the middle of the road here. We shy away from absolutes. But in an emergency we act in an absolute and authoritative manner for the good of the individual.

In the main, however, our job is to help the deviate see his actions as deviate and guide him back. In this effort we may have to bolster one individual while we may figuratively have to deflate another to produce realistic growth in both. No matter how severe the aggression or offense has been, however, we always leave a discernible return route open. To do otherwise would not only smack of cruelty but would defeat our purpose.

Probationers and parolees have found security in this school. Here again all the techniques, gimmicks, and tricks we know, and a pooling of all outside resources we can muster, are brought to bear to help each establish a good record. Administering self-aids in a sincere and genuine manner is the best remedy we can prescribe to bring a person back to health. The offender's past record is lost at the door. Much "babysitting" is frequently required to nurture a healthy outlook.

Teaching and preventive and curative skills are needed to do this job well. And more facilities than could ever be assigned to one school are required, too. The staff has gone to the community and brought the community to the school in many a guise. We have convinced many employers in the immediate neighborhood and elsewhere of their responsibility to share the job of building competent and self-sustaining citizens. As a consequence we have many loyal employer backers of youth. We have deliberately set up coordinating frameworks with social, psychological, welfare, and other service groups. We have carried the cause of youth to service clubs and professional groups. We have set up close working relationships with juvenile aid police, the juvenile court, probation workers, and parole officers. Through the interlacing of all these agencies in one cause, we have gained strength.

No man has devised a measuring instrument for precisely evaluating the exact influence a person, factor, or institution exerts upon an individual. Our work is accomplished by using tangible and intangible means to help a person help himself. But certain criteria may be acceptable as evidence that we have helped people make tangible progress:

> **The list of employers who have hired our students is continually increasing. It is reasonable to assume that many of our young people are taking**

hold and are doing a good job. More avenues for the slow learner are being opened by these employer-partners in education.

The Juvenile Aid Division of the Indianapolis police reports that the Wood High School area, formerly pinpointed as the area of highest incidence in juvenile crime, is now among the lowest. Probation and parole officers seek out Wood High School because they feel that their charges have an optimum chance for success here.

The administrative staff members were invited as guest speakers on numerous occasions last year to schools, colleges, universities, service clubs, and professional organizations to explain the Wood story.

The principal was invited to work with the training program for parole officers last year.

In addition, many individual case histories could be cited. A case in point is that of a boy with great academic potential who was hidebound by the folkways which persevered in the home. Through teacher-parental-pupil counseling he was permitted to take the qualifying exams for the General Motors Institute. A letter in the school files from the institute attests that this young man's grade average was the highest in his class.

Wherein lies the strength of Wood High School? It is not in the building, the courses, or the internal and external resources that have been developed for pupil aid. Above all, it rests in a dedicated staff able to develop and use these resources to aid pupils. It rests in a staff which understands the tensions of youth, a staff which accepts, for example, the peer group pull, and instead of fighting to suppress it, sets out to make the classroom, work assignments, and other social associations positive avenues for its expression. It rests in a staff which invites and initiates counseling, which has the desire and the skills for building two-way communications, and which stands ready to supply a professional personalized parent figure when needed. So the real strength of Wood High School is intangible in structure but is our structure for tangible results. It is a purpose—it is a perspective.

Conclusions

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SCHOOLS HAVE LONG proclaimed that education is for all American children. Most schools enroll a large group of pupils whose records in the principal's office show low IQ's, low scores on achievement tests, low grades in school subjects, and frequent failures. The low educational aspirations of these pupils frequently are paralleled by the low expectations of their teachers.

In recent years new ideas have been advanced which have questioned the widely held conviction that these pupils are the victims of low intelligence and therefore limited in their potential for learning. Critics of intelligence tests have pointed out that the intellectual ability of children from environments offering little intellectual stimulation cannot be adequately measured by tests geared to the experiences of children with middle-class backgrounds. If the apparent lack of capacity for academic achievement is a product of nurture rather than the work of nature, it follows that these pupils are educable. Such a conclusion calls for a complete evaluation of schools which enroll a large number of pupils commonly called slow learners. Some schools have launched a series of experimental programs designed to enrich the backgrounds of children from culturally disadvantaged homes. Many of these programs have already produced favorable results. Additional programs of this type and continued experimentation will be required to provide the quality of education which pupils from culturally disadvantaged families need and should have.

The teachers and administrators who have organized and worked in these programs have often carried out their work with an attitude akin to missionary zeal. They have learned that to expect little from pupils is to make a virtually self-fulfilling prophecy that pupils will achieve little. In these pilot programs goals have been raised and intelligent and energetic teaching has been supplied. Most important, pupil achievement has improved, an outcome which surprises only those people who are committed to the theory that these pupils are uneducable. Greater vision coupled with dynamic and energetic leadership has made good schools of many institutions which had previously been providing little more than custodial care.

From these experiments and the work of educators who have carried on research in this area, certain guidelines have emerged which may be useful to those involved in working with new programs for the educationally disadvantaged:

The Pupil

The most important discovery about the pupil from a disadvantaged home is that he has a capacity for learning, even as other pupils do. However, he does have his own ways of learning, which differ from those of pupils from middle-class families. His rate of learning may appear to be slower, perhaps because he is not at ease in the school environment. He has more language ability than his teachers previously thought if he is allowed to speak on subjects that interest him and to use his own idiom. He has a creative potential, which can be aroused and which has caused some researchers to speak of him as a "slow gifted pupil." He needs to be brought into the academic mainstream, but special techniques are needed to help him get there.

The Parents

The PTA has been a satisfactory means for communicating with parents in middle-class neighborhoods. With a large and regular attendance, teachers and parents become acquainted and the necessary individual conferences are easily arranged. The PTA has been less successful with the parents of disadvantaged pupils, and in many schools it has failed so completely that it has been abandoned altogether.

The difficulties encountered by teachers and administrators in reaching the parents from low-income families have led many of them to conclude that such parents are not interested in their children's education. However, some new approaches have met with marked success. Special projects which enlist the help of the mothers have a greater appeal than general meetings. Schools have recognized that working mothers cannot come to the school for conferences; mothers of large families cannot afford babysitters. Special arrangements for meetings, consultations in the home by school social workers, and cooperative arrangements for taking care of children at home have involved more parents in the life of the school. Enough has been accomplished to demolish the idea that these parents are not interested in the education of their children. Their interest is very strong. Less evident is an interest in the school as an institution, but this also can be developed when the problems facing the parents receive major consideration in the planning.

Homework is one of the most serious problems involved in the school-home relationship. Crowded homes rule out the privacy of a room for study. Some plan must be worked out for a quiet hour or two with the TV turned off while the school-age children study.

The School

The tone of the school, as set by the efforts of teachers and the morale of pupils, is an important factor in any program of education. There should be a complete absence not only of discrimination but also of patronage and condescension. The teachers should understand the attitudes of their pupils' families, their food habits, their clothing, their sex habits, their manners, their loyalties, and their prejudices. None of these customs or attitudes should lead to rejection of any child; many of these customs and attitudes have elements of strength, and should be encouraged. Anti-intellectuality is one attitude which the school cannot and should not accept. To combat this attitude, which is often held not only by the pupil but also by his family and nearly his whole community, requires continuous efforts on the part of the school.

The materials used in the instructional program should be related in some way to the experiences of the pupils. Textbooks based on the activities of middle-class families in rural or surburban settings may present material which is unfamiliar to a child from a crowded, low-income urban neighborhood. Many of the activities reported may seem to be an actual reproach to his family. The emphasis on the family, with the roles of the father and mother clearly defined may be a story of an unknown world to children whose mother is the sole adult in the house, combining the roles of wage-earner and homemaker.

Progress is being made in discovering methods that work successfully with disadvantaged pupils. For one thing, constant efforts must be made to adjust instruction to individual differences. Role-playing has been used successfully with these pupils, whose ability to act out a situation usually is greater than their ability to describe it. This is particularly true if the teacher insists, right from the beginning, on the use of grammatically correct language, an unfamiliar medium, rather than that used in the home and neighborhood. Learning by doing is also a method which works well, although other techniques of progressive education, such as permissiveness and pupil planning, are not popular with these pupils.

New learning is based upon and encouraged by past experience. Schools have provided numerous excursions to the theatre, to concerts, and to museums as well as to factories and hospitals. The need for new cultural horizons has been emphasized. Systematic efforts have been made to expand the range of knowledge of the world of work. Classroom films, guidance for better TV viewing, and plays and concerts presented at school are parts of these enrichment programs.

In addition to new materials and new methods, schools which enroll children from low-income neighborhoods are expanding their school services. The number of guidance counselors has been increased, and school social workers have been added to staffs. School social workers bring into the school professional training and experience which can be of aid in increasing the insight of school personnel into the problems which the disadvantaged pupils face. Their work with pupils and parents and their liaison work with social agencies in the community lead to solutions for many problems which the school up to this time may have considered impossible to solve.

In communities where recreational programs for pupils are inadequate and where a large percentage of mothers work, the schools, usually in cooperation with the community, develop afterschool programs of supervised study or recreation.

The special problems which appear in schools where a large number of pupils are disadvantaged may require special administrative policies and programs. Track arrangements and ability grouping have been used. There is general agreement that the keynote of all grouping should be flexibility. Pupils should be tested frequently and promoted to higher groups or tracks whenever improved achievement warrants such a transfer. In no case should a feeling of stigma and hopelessness be permitted to develop because of assignment to a basic track or a slow group. Temporary groupings for special instruction or drill or temporary assignment to a remedial group with eventual return to an ungrouped class are useful devices.

One administrative technique used is the ungraded elementary school. Since many of these pupils learn at a slower rate than pupils from more favored environments, the lock step of annual promotion is broken and pupils are advanced on the basis of individual growth and achievement.

Team teaching and the use of teaching machines are promising fields for school experimentation. The teaching machine can individualize instruction and permit the pupil to work at his own rate of speed without comparison with other pupils, which may call attention to his slow rate of progress.

At the high school level, there is a need for a review of the present vocational program. Modifications are needed to add training programs for jobs that are not included at present, but which furnish employment for a large number of workers. Expanded programs combining school with employment can increase the school's ability to serve pupils who particularly need job training.

The high school should work continuously to reduce its dropout rate. This work requires not only counseling and guidance services, but also frequent appraisal of the pupil's work. When the pupil either drops out or graduates, the school should provide all the help it is able to give to help him bridge the gap between school and work. While it is seldom practicable for a school to assume the responsibility of supervising the employment of its former pupils until they are 21, the alternative of shedding all responsibility when pupils leave school is entirely indefensible, for it often leaves the disadvantaged youth with a responsibility for finding employment which he cannot carry.

There are few training institutions which prepare teachers to work with culturally disadvantaged pupils. Inservice training programs are needed to acquaint new teachers with the special problems which face the school. In some cases where a school in a changing neighborhood has in a few years become a school for underprivileged pupils, the whole staff may have to be retrained to meet the new problems.

How much can the school do by itself with its present resources to improve the education of the educationally disadvantaged pupil? The answer is that it can do a great deal. It can study the pupil in relation to his culture. Such study has often led to an increased understanding of the strengths of this culture as well as its obvious weaknesses. With increased understanding has come increased respect for the culture, for the pupils, and for their parents. Attitudes of hopelessness have been replaced by positive attitudes which lead to greater effort and more experimentation. Increased counseling and guidance, positive staff leadership by school administrators, continuous evaluation, teaching pupils how to take tests are all practices intensively emphasized in good schools. In a small community with a limited number of disadvantaged pupils, these measures may be enough to bring these pupils into the mainstream of education.

In the large cities additional administrative measures from the central office are needed. More men should be assigned to schools in deprived areas. Teachers should be selected who are experienced in working with disadvantaged pupils, or else inservice training courses should be provided. If beginning teachers are assigned to these schools a year of work-study internship is needed. Social workers and additional guidance counselors must be provided.

There is a limit to the success which can be achieved through efforts to secure more education for the same money. Smaller classes call for more teachers. School social workers and guidance counselors add to school costs. Old buildings should be replaced in many cases. These measures call for an increased investment in the education of disadvantaged pupils. In general, expenditures per pupil in the more favored suburbs far exceed per pupil expenditures in either urban or rural slums. A recognition that the educational task in any slum is much more difficult than in the suburbs would suggest that the expenditures per pupil should at least be equal.

The Community

There is a limit to what the school alone can accomplish in helping children and youth from disadvantaged families find the place in society to which they are entitled by their abilities and energies. The school cannot rebuild the slums, nor can it break the residential restrictions which often condemn their graduates to life in a ghetto. The schools cannot remove discriminations in the job market. The schools over a long period of time may improve human relations by mitigating prejudice, but other community agencies have an equal responsibility in changing community attitudes. The schools cannot provide adequate medical and psychiatric services or social services for deprived families. It cannot enforce the laws which are designed to provide a moral climate favorable for civic living. These are tasks for the whole community. When the school has reached the limit of its service, the community must take over. The most favorable approach is for school and community to begin their vigorous efforts toward a better society by going to work on these multiple problems together and at the same time.

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